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Nuclear Disarmament Convention Opens in Moscow

LD1408120491 Moscow TASS in English 0933 GMT 14 Aug 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—Activists of independent antiwar, human rights, enviromentalist and humanitarian movements of countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) take part in the tenth convention for nuclear disarmament in Europe that just opened in Moscow. It is the first time such a forum is held in Moscow.

The convention will discuss the socio-political situation in Europe resulting from recent cardinal changes and will look for new approaches to the solution of problems in the framework of processes of European integration.

Among those invited for the convention are Swedish ambassador to the conference on disarmament in Geneva, one of the leaders of Swedish Social Democratic movement Maj Britt Theorin, chairman of the Human Rights Committee of the European Parliament Ken Coates, leaders of the British antiwar movement Bruce Kent and Edward Thompson.

The convention is expected to contribute to the further development of the principles of new political thinking and solution of problems of the observance of human rights.

Ethnic conflicts and the ways to overcome them, as well as problems of refugees and emigration hold an important place in the convention's political programme. The forum will also discuss enviromental protection and demilitarisation of the economy.

Another characteristic feature of the convention is that new Soviet public organisations and movements that emerged in the years of perestroyka participated in its preparation. They include the Civic World Coalition, Memorial Society, the Russian Social Democratic Party, Save the World and Nature Association and All-Union Writers Association "Aprel" (April).

Scientist Criticizes Nevzorov Over Arms Industry

PM0908130491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Letter "From the Editorial Mailbag" by Academician Yu. Khariton: "A. Nevzorov and N. Petrushenko Acted Unscrupulously"]

[Text] The Leningrad Television Channel broadcast a program entitled "Panoptikum" ("600 Seconds" series) 30 July and 2 August on the situation in our defense industry illustrated by the example of the Arzamas-16 closed city, where I work. The program's organizers, USSR People's Deputy Colonel N. Petrushenko and television journalist A. Nevzorov, who I did not know before, made unscrupulous use in this program of my name and others' for their own political aims—notably to kindle distrust toward the new nuclear arms reduction treaty with the United States—and to attack the USSR leadership's policy, going so far as to accuse it of "treason." I resolutely reject such a position, and I would like to bring my opinion to the public's attention.

As for nuclear weapons, it is perfectly clear that in the radically changed international conditions, and also and especially in view of the acute economic crisis that our country is experiencing, a reduction of appropriations for military needs is necessary and inevitable. The small number of centers for nuclear weapons research and development, where our most highly skilled scientific and design cadres are concentrated, must be preserved for least two reasons: First, as long as nuclear weapons exist in the world, disbanding these scientific collectives would be simply dangerous. Second, the expenditure for these centers is insignificant against the total expenditure for defense. The United States has such centers—they are the world famous Los Alamos and Livermore centers—and a great deal is being done to preserve them. In our country they are the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Experimental Physics (Arzamas-16) and the All-Union Scientific Institute for Technological Physics (Chelyabinsk-70), which until recently were known to very few people.

The nuclear arms reduction process is an exceptionally complex process, and it may be subject to inaccuracies and isolated mistakes. I am profoundly convinced that even if these do exist, they are the result of the exceptional complexity of the situation rather than anyone's malicious intent. As for the program creators' attempts to accuse the USSR leadership of "treason," they can only be described as completely unfounded and insulting. Incidentally, the authors fraudulently sidestepped an entirely reasonable agreement with the Ministry of Atomic Power Engineering and Industry to make their program available for an advance viewing.

I have worked on questions connected with the development of nuclear arms for more than 50 years. I am sending this letter to the IZVESTIYA editorial board profoundly convinced that despite the efforts of Petrushenko and Nevzorov the Treaty on the Reduction of Strategic Offensive Arms between the USSR and the United States which Presidents Gorbachev and Bush signed in Moscow a few days ago will make hundreds of millions of people throughout the world sigh with relief.

Paper Interviews Petrovskiy on 'New World Order'

PM1408124191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

["IZVESTIYA Interview" with USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy by Yuriy Tavrovskiy; place and date not given; first paragraph is introduction: "The New World Order and Us"]

[Text] The term "new world order" is being used increasingly often in political vocabulary, official documents, and international press material. The meaning of this term is not yet firmly determined and different personalities give it different interpretations. USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy consented to reflect on the "new world order" and the Soviet Union's place in it.

[Tavrovskiy] Vladimir Fedorovich: Discussion about a new world order began comparatively recently, since launching the process to reform our country's domestic and foreign policy. Changes over one-sixth of the planet's territory, where a colossal military and economic potential is concentrated, could not have failed to disrupt the balance of forces. What other factors prompted this debate?

[Petrovskiy] The topic of a new world order is nothing new to mankind; in fact, it has emerged whenever the system of international relations has undergone a change. A new world order was discussed when the time came to replace the Versailles-Washington system, imposed after World War I, with the Yalta-Potsdam system. For example, German philosopher Karl Jaspers wrote in one of his books in 1949: "The path to world order leads through the awakening of freedom and the awareness of each country's own essence in the greatest number of countries...."

We all know what happened after that. The ice age of the "cold war" set in, and this formed the basis for the international system that was built, a system far removed from the ideal. The need to reconsider the international community's architecture arose again only after the new political thinking emerged and was transformed into a real factor of international relations.

The new world order became the topic of discussion again in the course of the UN debates from 1986-1989. This term was then used in speeches by PRC representatives and was later adopted by the Soviet Union. Recent events in the Persian Gulf gave fresh impetus to the debate. In harmony with the spirit of the times, the topic of the new world order has become the center of attention.

It is a typical feature of the current debate that all countries, despite the political overtones, favor of a new world order within the framework of international law which will be built by applying existing interstate structures to the rapidly changing situation. Behind this debate, one can clearly perceive signs of recognition that today's world, distinguished by a comprehensive interdependence of continents, states, regions, and peoples, is entering a new postconfrontational stage in its development. The first steps toward this new stage were marked by fundamental positive changes along the East-West line and specifically by the imparting of partnership qualities to Soviet-U.S. relations, the overcoming of Germany's split, the emergence of Europe's new image, and the changes in other continents. The new world order is also taking shape under the powerful and steadily growing influence of universal civilizing changes, primarily the explosion of information about the economy and society in general which renders borders "transparent" and closes gaps in order to unite the world.

[Tavrovskiy] No matter how universally states might feel drawn toward the new world order, differences in their level of development, geopolitical conditions, and traditions inevitably lead to different interpretations of the term. Is it possible to reach consensus on this point?

[Petrovskiy] Despite all the differences that really exist, the international community is quite clearly aware of the kind of new world order being discussed. Resolution No. 44/21, adopted by consensus at the 44th UN General Assembly session, formulates the task of creating a system of peace, security, and cooperation based on the UN Charter's authority and potential. Moreover, this is not a question of some abstract security but of security in all its aspects and manifestations—military, political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian.

The UN Charter defines the task of maintaining international peace as a dual task, implying not only the absence of war but also the presence of reliable guarantees that force will not be used and that conditions for peaceful development will be created. This task presently is organically linked with cooperation as the sole possible method for states to effect their actions. For the first time, it seems that international relations could be directed along an evolutionary path, along which any tumultuous change in the world would fit within the framework of stability and would not destroy existing structures or pose a threat to peace and security.

It also stems from Resolution 44/21 that the trinity of peace, security, and cooperation is a single system based on the UN Charter. This is a recognition of the objective laws governing today's world which, despite all its diversity, is becoming increasingly unified and interdependent. Our civilization is a functioning system whose components cannot be disrupted without disrupting the entire mechanism's operations. Peace cannot be ensured on a selective basis, for example only in Europe, without consideration for peace elsewhere. The organic link between national and international security is becoming more and more clear: States' own stability can be reliably ensured only within a global framework, when any country's diminished security is disadvantageous to other countries because it leads to destabilization of the overall situation. In an interdependent system, progress is actually impossible in any society which is separated from the rest by artificial borders and ideological fences.

Finally, Resolution 44/21 clearly states that the system of peace, security, and cooperation must be based on UN authority and potential. In the past, when its work was imperfect in many ways, the UN Organization primarily offered its member states a rostrum where they could express their views, which were often uncompromising. Today, however, the UN Organization is becoming a rostrum for different purposes. Delegates there do not engage in polemics or deliver indictments, but advocate collaboration between all states and guaranteed fulfillment of adopted decisions. The desire to secure UN cooperation is now stronger than ever before.

People sometimes claim that the system of peace, security, and cooperation outlined in Resolution 44/21 belongs more to the realm of political idealism than that of realism. I think, however, that such claims are groundless. Political realism is certainly not alien to ideals. The borderline between idealism and realism is demarcated not by the rejection of ideals but by one's attitude toward them. Political realism presupposes constant alignment of ideals with practice, the constant amendment of ideals in the light of specific conditions and the level of maturity of mass awareness. Resolution 44/21, therefore, is a guideline for practical activity.

[Tavrovskiy] Despite all the respect due the UN Organization and the role it played during the Persian Gulf crisis, one cannot fail to notice that its fundamental documents are partially obsolete, that mechanisms for the maintenance of international peace are underdeveloped, and the existing ones are "rusty" in places. Can hopes be pinned on the UN Organization as load-bearing structure of the new world order?

[Petrovskiy] You are partially correct. It is no accident that the UN Charter is occasionally referred to as a "sleeping beauty," implying an ineffectiveness of the principles enshrined in it. But conditions have now been created for actually implementing these principles. Take for example the increasingly popular topic of "preventive diplomacy" which means rapid and flexible intervention in a growing conflict to prevent its evolution into a military phase.

But some points in the Charter are, of course, obsolete, primarily the idea of "hostile states" (Germany, Japan, and Italy). The Charter also contains other anachronisms. Furthermore, there is an impending administrative reform of the UN apparatus, a reform of the General Assembly and its main committees. This is designed to adapt the structure in line with contemporary problems and to improve coordination among the various mechanisms of the entire highly efficient machinery for the maintenance of peace, security, and cooperation. But the UN Organization as a whole will become part of the new system of international relations through reforms rather than through an abolition of its Charter and existing structures. This will make it possible to release the founding members' collective wisdom enshrined in the Charter and to enrich the document with fresh ideas. The UN Organization is perfectly capable of playing the role of a "legal handrail" to support the world along its path to a new political order. Such a "handrail" is especially necessary in the present period of transition from the state of "cold war" to the development of relations of peace and cooperation throughout the international system. This complex and contradictory period, stretching in time and space, is distinguished by some fundamentally new features:

a) Diminution of the role of military force in international relations and the growing importance of such components of state power as economic, scientific, and technical potential, society's moral and political condition, its social stability and order, and the system for adopting state decisions.

b) Internationalization of problems, primarily those which were hitherto considered strictly domestic affairs. States today are becoming increasingly open to international monitoring and inspection and are accepting observers from international organizations at elections. The range of traditional global problems has now expanded with the addition of questions concerning environmental protection, the combat of drug addiction, terrorism, organized crime, the elimination of diseases, and the consequences of various accidents and natural disasters.

c) Emergence of new spheres of influence. These spheres are distinguished primarily by economic rather than military indicators (Germany, Japan), and by demographic-territorial features (China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Nigeria).

I would like to mention one more point. In the conditions of interdependence, a state's prestige and influence are determined largely by its ability to ensure scientific and technical progress and create conditions for its people's prosperity. A state's commitment to morality and legality in its foreign political behavior is also becoming a considerable source of influence.

[Tavrovskiy] Now we come to a question which, we feel, is most perturbing and most interesting for IZVESTIYA's readers. Will our country, experiencing acute and diverse difficulties, join the new world order? Are we not likely to lose the superpower status which we have acquired at such a high cost?

[Petrovskiy] The answer to your first question can only be in the affirmative. I categorically disagree with the U.S. political scientist who declared from IZVESTIYA's pages that "the new world order is the old world order minus the Soviet Union plus Germany and Japan." The influence of both the USSR and the United States is universal and will remain so. These countries themselves and the relations between them will play an important role internationally. The international community perceives the USSR and the United States as superpowers capable of standing up to any military danger. They have the right of veto in the UN Security Council. It is impossible to solve a single global problem without them—especially the settlement of international crises. The changing relations between the USSR and the United States on the natural basis of universal human values and national interests is fully in line with the entire international community's interests.

At the same time, it is impossible to overlook the fact that the new world order is a theater employing old and new actors alike. The superpowers will find it impossible to ignore the "newcomers" and pit themselves against the rest of the world, let alone to pursue a superpower policy of strong arm pressure and imposition of their will. It is in their own interests to collaborate organically with all members of the international community. Global cooperation instead of superpower globalism—this is how USSR and U.S. policy is emerging in the contemporary world.

The profound economic and democratic transformations occurring in our country and the referendum's verdict in favor of preserving the Soviet Union offer grounds to claim that our state, being Eurasian in terms of territorial and national features, has the people's mandate not simply to preserve its role as great power but also to act in international affairs with an awareness of its special responsibility as a major military nuclear power, the world's largest country in terms of territory, and the world's third largest in terms of population.

While clearly aware of all our difficulties and worries, we must not lose our sense of realism, which indicates that the military, nuclear, economic, demographic, and other factors still make us a great power. We may be sick, but we are still a superpower. Now that the state's role is being redefined, new superpower criteria are emerging, and the importance of "military muscle" is gradually declining. I repeat that the people's economic prosperity and the quality of life in all its diversity are coming to the foreground. We must capture this trend and move in the same direction as the rest of the world. Our influence will depend on the solution of domestic economic and political problems, enabling us to join the international community and the new world order. There is only one way—to accelerate reforms. The time scale of recovery will depend on this, and this will ultimately determine our opportunities in international relations.

One point is clear. Unless we find our legitimate and proper place in the new world order, we will be unable to enjoy the benefits international cooperation offers to our own people. On the other hand, the new world order cannot last without a stable and flourishing Soviet Union that has confidence in its own strength.

Moscow To Host Muslim Public Forum 23-26 Aug

PM1408140991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, IAN, REUTER, AFP ROUNDUP: "Islamic Forum in Moscow"]

[Text] The first Muslim public forum of East European countries will be held in Moscow 23 through 26 August.

IZVESTIYA correspondent G. Alimov reports that the leaders of all the spiritual administrations in the Soviet Union, prominent religious figures, the leaders of Muslim public organizations, and businessmen will participate in the forum. Guests are expected to come from Turkey, Poland, and Romania. Invitations have also been sent to representatives of the clergy and public organizations in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. The meeting aims to draw up a cooperation program under the slogan "The Islamic Factor in the East European Processes."

Moscow Events on Eve of CSCE Session Detailed

OW1508014491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1719 GMT 14 Aug 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" feature by Diplomatic Correspondent M. Mayorov; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The first among the 44 so-callel paralled events provided by nongovernmental organizations started in Moscow today within the frawework of the Moscow stage of the Conference on Human Dimension of the CSCE which opens on September 10. The matter concerns the 10th Convention for European Nuclear Disarmament to which about 500 representatives from Canada, Scandinavian and some other European countries will come.

The Soviet Peace Fund is one of the organizers of the Soviet-Spanish meeting, "Europe—our common home", which opened today. Though the subject of the discussion does not directly concern the problem of human rights, its organizers—international committees—officially asked the Working Coordinating Committee of the Conference to include these meetings in the program.

The First Congress of Compatriots of Russian which opens on August 19 is among the nearest events. The Edinburgh talks start on August 23. The Third Interparliamentary Soviet-American Seminar scheduled on September 5 - 6 is under preparation. Governmental delegations of the Soviet Supreme Council and the U.S. Congress will take part in the seminar (the Subcommittee of the Soviet Supreme council on Human Rights, headed by F. Burlatskiy—from the soviet side, the Helsinki commission, composed of prominent senators and congressmen,—from the American side).

According to the information received by a "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent in the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Department on Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights, the Moscow session of the Conference on Human Dimension preceded by similar sessions in Paris (1989) and in Copenhagen (1990) has drawn attention of prominent politicians from several countries and international organizations. The European Parliament is going to direct its delegation to Moscow. The leadership of the European Council agreed to take part in the Conference.

The International Amnesty, a well-known human rights organization, intends to held a seminar in Moscow within the framework of the Session. Events will be hold in some other cities of the Soviet Union in particular in Vilnius on September 6 where they have their own organizing committee.

As far the participation of the republics in the Moscow session is concerned (including the Baltic ones), they said in the soviet Foreign Ministry: "All the Union's republics have been invited to take part in the Soviet delegation. Not all the replies are received yet."

European Industrialists To Meet in Moscow in Sep

LD1308183591 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 13 TASS—Leaders of major industrialists' unions of Western countries will meet in Moscow between September 2-4, head of the USSR Scientific and Industrial Union Arkadiy Volskiy said at a meeting today, devoted to international cooperation plans of this mass organisation. The union aims to promote and protect the interests of Soviet science and industry.

The president emphasised that the first such meeting of Western industrialists will help boost understanding between foreign and Soviet business circles, and expand partnership possibilities.

Carlos Ferer, president of the European Industrialists Union, is the foreign coordinator of the meeting.

The forum, to be attended by presidents of industrialists unions and associations of manufacturers of EC countries, will discuss the state of the Soviet economy, the results of the London meeting, prospects for cooperation, bilateral talks and meetings.

IBRD Preparing Special Budget for USSR

OW1408194191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Council of Managers of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) has tentatively confirmed the expenses budget for providing technological help to the USSR of $20-30 million for the next 1.5-2 years. The final decision on that point will be adopted at the end of August.

According to the information of the Soviet Foreign Ministry the Soviet Union will be entitled to use the money only when it is granted special association status with the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, which may be granted to the USSR at the end of September 1991.

The IMF (International Monetary Fund) has not yet considered the problem of a special budget for the USSR. It expects to finance particular programs of cooperation through the budget of its departments.

United States & Canada

Bush Stance on U.S. 'Special Role' Questioned

LD1408141891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] The U.S. President, George Bush, has submitted to Congress the annual report on the strategy for national security. The report contains an analysis of the international situation and guidelines for the United States' policies. Aleksandr Pogodin looks at some of the report's ideas:

It's quite natural that here in Moscow particular attention is going to be attracted to those chapters in the report which concern changes in political strategy in relations with the Soviet Union. I must say from the outset that most of these changes are fundamental and evidence that the United States has reconsidered its foreign policy priorities.

No one would doubt the fact that the U.S. President's evaluations are a result of a realistic approach to the fundamental changes in the world. President Bush emphasized in particular the end of the cold war, democratic changes in eastern Europe and the conclusion of the U.S.-Soviet treaty that for the first time considerably reduces the strategic arsenals of both countries. Likewise everybody will agree with the U.S. President's statement that the risk of a Soviet-U.S. conflict these days is the smallest ever since the end of World War II.

I am not concerned in the slightest degree about President Bush's statement that the Soviet Union is a military superpower and will remain so, and that the United States will bear this in mind and take the necessary measures. Moscow, too, is quite realistic about the current state of affairs, and of course will take care of maintaining the country's security on the basis of parity.

It is quite natural that, as the report says, the United States sees its strategic relations with the Soviet Union as an inevitable priority. At this point it's probably worth recalling that, whereas just recently Washington talked of the special importance of relations with the USSR as one of perpetual confrontation these days, the emphasis is on the transition to cooperation and partnership. President Bush declared the United States' intentions to shift the center of its interests to settling regional conflicts, and mentioned as an example the settlement of the Persian Gulf crisis and the unprecedented unanimity of views.

In this commentary I probably should not voice doubts about the U.S. President's assessments of this or that country's position. However, one cannot but feel certain alarm over what he said about the United States' special role in building a new world where the American ideals would dominate. He also stressed the need to use the current opportunity to build what he described as a new international system consonant with our values and ideals.

I find it difficult to tell whether this is a manifestation of inertia together with irrelevant political bearings [as heard], or a concession, some sort of gesture toward those forces in the country tht are opposed to the fundamental changes in U.S. policies. Whichever the case, neither possibility must be ruled out.

PRAVDA Reviews Role of Trust in U.S. Ties

PM1408082591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Aug 91 Second Edition p 6

[Anatoliy Karpychev article from "View From Moscow" column: "'Third Party' in Dialogue Between Presidents"]

[Text] Yes, you are right—there cannot be a "third party" in a dialogue because a dialogue is always a conversation between two people...

Yet, whenever I turn to the Moscow summit meeting, to the dialogue between Presidents Gorbachev and Bush, to their mood, and to the documents that the meeting produced, I come to the conclusion that there was a "third party" involved after all—and a very good thing too. Without it, the presidents would not have been able to do anything. This is no idle invention. When I talk of a "third party" I have in mind a quite specific "person," namely, Trust. I will note up front that its antipode is Distrust—the very same thing that once blew up the bridges between our countries, generated the "cold war," and—what is particularly bad and incredible in its tragedy—made enemies out of allies when World War II ended and peacetime came along.

I find it difficult to answer the question: What is trust? A condition of the heart and soul or the intellect's ability to rise above prejudices, ideologies, and propaganda stereotypes? Or maybe it is both put together? I do not know. Certainly, philosophers will see it as the wisdom of communicaton and politics—the key to mutual understanding. We can evidently talk about the meaning of trust in different ways, but one thing is clear: Either it exists or it does not. That says everything. Another thing is also clear: Trust is priceless and indivisible; it cannot be measured out in doses depending on the identity of the interlocutor (more to a minister, less to a journalist). Generally, without trust it is difficult both to exist and to live—not only in ordinary life, but in big-time politics as well.

At the Moscow meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev called trust a universal human value which has acquired an almost critical importance in international politics. In the Kremlin, George Bush discussed decades of "distrust and isolation" which had cruelly divided our countries. The presidents spoke about it when they bade farewell at the Kremlin. At that moment I recalled London, where the Soviet leader met with the "seven," and an aide's account of the atmosphere of openness and trust that reigned at Lancaster House. We spoke again that evening in London about the happy coincidences whereby fate had put forward such politicians as Mitterrand, Bush, Kohl, and Gorbachev on the stage of history at the same time....

I think that both London and Moscow, separated in time by only 10 days, have something in common which could exert an influence for decades. I am talking about a new quality of trust between leaders.

At one time we brushed aside Ronald Reagan's words "my friend Gorbachev." Today most of us calmly accept them: And why not at long last? True, our domestic "guardians of presidential morality" instantly labeled (no, not Reagan) but his friend an apostate who allegedly made threatening gestures about the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. But nothing can be done about that—that is how they are educated. By reason of these teachings, certain "guardians" are prepared to list Gorbachev as a CIA agent. So, now that the "cold war" has ended, we still have a long way to go to rid ourselves of stupidity—which has greater reserves in individuals' heads than knowledge of revolutionary teachings. Incidentally, the U.S. President is being criticized at home for his "infatuation with Gorbachev," but it does not enter anybody's head to call him a KGB agent.

The world is pleased with the results of the Moscow summit meeting. As I see it, both Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush are pleased, as are other countries' leaders and the public. Representatives of Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka] are a possible exception. Why? When visiting Kiev the tall guest openly noted that he will support Gorbachev as head of a central authority, but that no good will come of separatism. According to a U.S. correspondent, this did not please Rukh supporters, and they called the U.S. President a "messenger from Moscow." Personally, I quite like this. But to see the "hand of the Kremlin" in the U.S. President's words.... What is the world coming to!?

Incidentally, while the Rukh supporters were taking offense, the whole world acknowledged that it was the first summit level meeting since the end of the "cold war." For the first time, the dialogue proceeded in the direction of making a breakthrough in economic cooperation. The meeting opened up prospects for moving toward a new world order. The crux of the program is the signature of the Strategic Offensive Arms Limitation Treaty [START], which was being worked on for just under 10 years.

We have gotten used to assessing the results of summit meetings according to the number of treaties and agreements. They have always been a yardstick of success, and evidently a reliable one. A real result is the best way of expressing the outcome of a great deal of work. Of course, much is forgotten with time, but trust that has been reciprocated remains.

The fate of the "reciprocation" of trust since the end of the "cold war" has not been easy. Before resulting in treaties and agreements, it passes along the thorny path of mutual enlightenment and understanding. This path lay via Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, Moscow, Malta, and so on—with "stops" at every station. At one time, journalists liked to ask Ronald Reagan: "Do you trust Gorbachev?" Reagan beautifully evaded giving a direct answer, quoting our proverb: "Trust, but verify." Then a new question followed which, in my view, put the president in a comical position: "Would you trust Gorbachev with your wallet?" Evidently, it means a very great deal for an American to trust someone with his wallet, and therefore, as far as I can recall, Reagan did not want to part with his wallet.

In my mind, we have never requested nor required to be paid for trust with a wallet. Trust is not a tip or a concession, much less a bargaining chip. I repeat what I said earlier: It either exists or it does not. On this occasion the Russian proverb "trust, but verify" was not heard in the dialogue between the presidents. It gave way to Chekhov, which, evidently, signified a new level of trust: "And if you believe Chekhov, who once wrote that a man is what he believes in, let us believe in freedom."

These words were quoted by the U.S. President. Let us believe them.

Let us remember: Distrust once engendered fear, and it became implanted in our souls.

Let us remember: Distrust almost ended in a nuclear catastrophe.

We lost our way, believing in Distrust and cutting ourselves off from the rest of the world with "Iron Curtains" and "Berlin Walls."

Ideology did everything to elevate distrust to the level of official policy. We went on and on about peace while preparing for war. We threatened to bury them, and they us. Thank God that this nightmare has been left behind, thanks to the new policy born out of perestroyka. It is entirely possible that somebody among the former politicians or even the "new old politicians" will continue to accuse the president of every mortal sin allegedly committed in foreign policy and with almost total disregard for the "interests of the people." But it is easier to accuse than, forgive me, to fight. After all, the sons would have to pay for their fathers' ideological intoxication. A long time ago, the ancients used to say: Children will die because their fathers lied.

We can only rejoice that trust is reciprocated in relations between the Soviet and American peoples. This process is going on, but it would be naive to think that the cleansing will be accomplished instantly and that everything will be smooth sailing and there will be no problems. There are problems and they will last for some time yet. It is important to understand something else: Our behavior in our own home is of critical importance. That is axiomatic. "It is hard to trust a regime that does not trust its own people with anything"—that was the logic of international relations. Possibly somebody will now object to this logic's truth, but it actually was correct. For his part, Harry Truman was not so very far from the truth when he said: "We should not answer hatred with hatred, which these people have been taught to experience in relation to us. We should understand that they are the victims of a cynical group of leaders."

I would not want to return to the past, even with these words—but we would be wrong to forget its lessons. We have suffered too much, and we have paid too high a price to permit ourselves the "luxury" of being consumed with hatred. That is why, frankly, it grieves me when somebody deliberately wants to splash a jar of kerosene onto the still unextinguished fire of distrust. This must not be done. Neither in our own home nor in anybody else's.

China

USSR Welcomes PRC Nuclear Nonproliferation Plan

LD1508075591 Moscow TASS in English 0725 GMT 15 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Voitsekhovich]

[Text] Moscow August 15 TASS—The Soviet Union welcomes the readiness to join the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons expressed by the Chinese leadership, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told TASS.

"This responsible and bold step of the People's Republic of China—a nuclear power and a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council—creates important additional conditions for giving a universal character and strengthening the international legal mechanism of control over the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons," he stressed.

The Soviet side expresses hope that other countries, which are still refraining from joining the treaty, will follow China's example, the Soviet official said.

Chief of Staff Interviewed on Army Developments

PM1308085291 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Aug 91 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel General Chi Haotian, chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army General Staff, by correspondent A. Golts; place and date not given: "Watching Over China's Security"]

[Text] Colonel General Chi Haotian, chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army General Staff, is in the Soviet Union on an official visit. The eminent Chinese military leader kindly agreed to answer questions for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent A. Golts.

[Golts] Comrade General, it is well known that one of the priority tasks in China's development is the comprehensive modernization of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. What are the main avenues of this modernization?

[Chi Haotian] Our military building includes three aspects: Boosting the Army's revolutionary spirit, modernizing it, and building a regular army. Primary among these is modernization, and the long-term task is that of boosting the revolutionary spirit.

In the course of the modernization of the Armed Forces, the main emphasis is on educating personnel and on improving the quality of the arms. Our aim in military building is the creation of a people's army that is politically appropriate, militarily strong, in possession of high moral qualities, disciplined, and with good rear services.

[Golts] The Armed Forces in China have been successfully reduced by 1 million servicemen. How did this large-scale reduction affect the Chinese People's Liberation Army's combat readiness?

[Chi Haotian] The reduction in the Armed Forces by 1 million men resulted from the implementation of the active defense strategy. Far from reducing the Army's combat readiness, it actually helped increase the level of the Armed Forces' modernization and helped achieve the more successful completion of the tasks of ensuring the state's security.

The improvement in the Chinese People's Liberation Army's organizational and staffing structure and the reduction in the number of personnel made it possible to reduce Armed Forces maintainance expenditures and alleviated the burden on the state's economy. Officers and men discharged from the Armed Forces went to work in the national economy and are contributing to increasing the state's economic might. Thus the economic conditions were created for the further modernization of the Armed Forces and the defense industry.

The change in the organizational and staffing structure of the Armed Forces also provided an opportunity to channel resources formerly spent on maintaining personnel into the design and development of modern arms and combat hardware. A new troop command and control system was introduced, based on tight concentrations of troops, the formation of large combined units [mnogosostavnyye soyedineniya], and a high degree of flexibility. All this qualitatively improved the training of units and subunits and enhanced their combat capability.

In a word, the reduction in personnel and the improvement in the organizational and staffing structure are inextricably linked with the enhancement of combat capability and promote the fulfillment of the Armed Forces' main task: To ensure the security and defend the peaceful labor of the Chinese people.

[Golts] How successfully is the social protection of servicemen discharged to the reserve being ensured?

[Chi Haotian] Questions of finding jobs for servicemen discharged to the reserve or into retirement are mainly tackled by the local organs of power. Ex-servicemen are found jobs where they lived prior to being drafted into the Army. The social security organs find posts for officers that are appropriate to their social status. Rank-and-file servicemen return to the jobs they held before they were drafted.

Local military and civil authorities are taking joint steps to ensure that the social position of officers discharged to the reserve does not deteriorate. Their pension provision is only slightly inferior to their former salary. Local military authorities also provide them with appropriate amenities, organize medical services, and create other necessary conditions.

[Golts] As the new economic relations develop, is there not a decline in material incentives for those who would like to become professional soldiers? How is this question being tackled in the Chinese People's Liberation Army?

[Chi Haotian] The living standard of the people's masses is rising along with successes in the country's economic development. Chinese People's Liberation Army commanding officers and soldiers are the people's children. They came from the people, they serve the people, and they rejoice in the people's improving living standards. They sense for themselves that the political course of the party and government is right, they ardently love the Communist Party and the people's government, and they are increasingly consciously investing their efforts in the cause of the country's defense.

Party organizations at all levels and the PRC Government are conducting educational work among the population of China, aimed at raising consciousness in defense building. Propaganda is developing under the slogan: "Have Ideals, Be Virtuous, Cultured, and Disciplined." This strengthens the young people's love for the Armed Forces and promotes the study of military matters and the application of people's own efforts in the cause of the states' defense.

On the other hand, we do give some material support to the families of those who are drafted into the Army. Servicemen's parents should be provided for. This is why conscripts willingly enter the military service. Military units are replenished in good time, and the quality of the drafted contingent is entirely satisfactory. Furthermore, the Armed Forces leadership and the government have adopted a series of measures to increase the officers' financial salaries and the privates' pay. After all, a good living standard for servicemen makes it possible to create a healthy climate among the troops.

[Golts] Interesting experience in the conversion of military production has been accumulated in China. Comrade General, could you tell us about the organization of this complex process?

[Chi Haotian] The Armed Forces have in their charge plants and other enterprises which, while working primarily to meet the Army's needs, pursue this course: "Supply the troops, help increase the people's living standard, support the Army through the people's efforts." In the last few years the volume of civil production at military enterprises has constantly increased, and it now accounts for some 50 percent of the total volume of output, expressed in value, of the Armed Forces' military-industrial enterprises. Military enterprises supply a large quantity of popular products and are helping widen the market and improve the people's life. At the same time, they are improving the economic and technical conditions for the production of military output.

[Golts] Relations in the military sphere between our two countries are now not only being restored but are undergoing positive development. What, in your view, are the prospects for these relations?

[Chi Haotian] China and the Soviet Union are two great socialist countries joined by mountains and rivers. Their common border is over 7,000 km long. The two countries' peoples and Armed Forces are linked by the bonds of ancient friendship. In the last two years, thanks to the visits by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev to China and by Comrade Jiang Zemin to the USSR, relations between the two states have reached a new stage of development.

We are following the spirit of the Chinese-Soviet joint communique published during Comrade Jiang Zemin's visit to the USSR: "The two countries' Armies will maintain normal friendly contacts." We have much in common, and the development of relations between the two countries and the two Armies, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, not only meet our peoples' vital interests but also promote the cause of peace and development in Asia and worldwide. We are confident that, through the joint efforts of the peoples of the USSR and China, relations between our states and Armies will without fail undergo further development.

When we came here, we brought with us the friendly feelings of the Chinese people and their Army, and we are taking away with us the friendly feelings of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces. I sincerely wish the Soviet people and their Armed Forces victories in the cause of state building and the defense of the Motherland.

I would like to take this opportunity through KRASNAYA ZVEZDA to convey warm greetings and respect for the great Soviet people and their Army.

New Entry Procedures for Soviet Visitors to China

LD1308211191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Text] Changes in the procedure enabling Soviet citizens to enter China came into force today. Soviet citizens will now be allowed to enter the country on a domestic All-Union passport with a supplementary sheet in exceptional cases and by invitation only. People who are on business will also be allowed in on condition that they are met by a representative of a Chinese organization who is receiving guests at the border.

Northeast Asia

Silayev Refutes 'Allegation' of Japan Concessions

OW1408140991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers Ivan Silayev has categorically refuted the recent allegation of possible serious territorial concessions to Japan by the Russian side in the course of Silayev's future visit to Tokyo.

Japan lays claim to 4 of the Kuril Islands which now belong to the USSR.

"We agree that there is such a problem,- said Mr. Silayev in his interview to the "IF" [INTERFAX] correspondent, Evgheny Terekhov,- but it should be carefully worked through. At any rate the Kurils problem will not be settled in the near future."

According to the Prime-Minister the problem of the controversial territories should be solved only when the opinion of the residents of the islands has been taken into account.

To Visit Japan 21-28 Aug

LD1408114591 Moscow TASS in English 1054 GMT 14 Aug 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev will visit Japan from August 21-28, officials from the cabinet's press service told TASS today.

Originally, the visit was to go ahead on August 17. It was put off in view of the forthcoming signing of a new federal treaty in Moscow on August 20.

Press service officials told TASS that Silayev will be accompanied to Japan by his plenipotentiary representative Valentin Sergeyev, Russian Deputy Premier Inga Grebesheva and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

Silayev is expected to meet his Japanese counterpart Toshiki Kaifu and Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama and make a tour of Japan.

Mikhail Ivanov, chief counselor of the Russian Foreign Ministry, told TASS that a joint statement is expected during the visit, which, he said, "will define principles for direct relations between Japan and Russia in various fields".

He said that the shortage of time prevented other documents from being prepared for signing during Silayev's stay in Japan.

Federal President Mikhail Gorbachev was to that country last April on the first-ever visit by a Soviet leader to Japan. One important result of that trip was the Soviet-Japanese joint statement, signed by Gorbachev and Kaifu. The visit also produced a package of agreements on bilateral cooperation in diverse fields.

Gorbachev and Kaifu stressed the priority importance of expediting work on a peace treaty between the two countries and expressed the firm intention to make constructive and dynamic efforts towards that aim.

TASS Reviews Program

LD1308154491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0430 GMT 13 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Sdntsev]

[Summary] Tokyo, 13 Aug (TASS)—"Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, who has postponed his visit to Japan, may still make the visit in the near future. The foreign ministries of Japan and Russia are coming to an appropriate agreement with the assistance of the USSR embassy in Tokyo, the TASS correspondent was told today at the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. SANKEI SIMBUN reports today that the Silayev visit will take place from 21-28 August at the invitation of the Oita and Hokkaido prefectures and the Japanese Foreign Ministry. Silayev is expected to arrive in Japan on 21 August, starting with a visit to the Oita and Hokkaido prefectures, followed by a visit to Tokyo from 25-28 August, where he will meet Japanese Premier Kaifu and Foreign Minister Nakayama.

"The Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman refused to confirm for the TASS correspondent the specific dates and program for the visit, however, saying that they have not yet been finally agreed." According to SANKEI SIMBUN, Silayev would like to conclude an agreement on coastal trade, but, the paper says "the Japanese side is not inclined to conclude any such agreement, on the grounds that 'relations between the center and the Russian Republic have not yet been finally determined'."

Moscow Radio on Kaifu's PRC, Mongolia Visit

OW1508014091 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1400 GMT 14 Aug 91

[From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu has concluded his visit to China and Mongolia. The visit has produced strong repercussions all over the world, particularly in the Asian-Pacific region. A report from our station reporters in Beijing and Ulaanbaatar follows:

Kaifu's remarks at a press conference held at the end of his official visit to China caught the attention of reporters. He said the goals the Japanese side had set on the eve of his visit had all been fulfilled. The local newspapers prominently published Kaifu's remarks.

According to Kaifu, Japan and China play an important role in Asia, and the development of the Japanese-Chinese dialogue is conducive not only to the stability and prosperity of Asia but also to the stability of the entire world. The Japanese prime minister called the Chinese premier's declaration that China had agreed in principle to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty a gift to the Japanese people, adding that this step is of great significance to the world. Kaifu said this because, on the eve of his visit to China, the Japanese people held meetings to mark the 46th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

During the Sino-Japanese talks, the two sides discussed bilateral relations and devoted much time to regional issues. This is understandable because the development of the two countries' relations has an important bearing on the situation in their neighboring countries. Kaifu highly valued China's contributions toward resolving the Cambodian question. The two countries shared an identical view on the situation in the Korean peninsula, favoring UN membership for both Koreas. They expressed the belief that this will be conducive to stability in Northeast Asia. In a nutshell, Kaifu's visit to China shows that economic and political ties between Japan and China are growing rapidly. The political climate in the whole Asian-Pacific region largely depends on these two countries.

Prime Minister Kaifu pointed out that his visit to Ulaanbaatar symbolized the beginning of growing cooperation between Japan and Mongolia as the 21st century approaches. Kaifu is the first Japanese prime minister to visit the Mongolian capital in the history of relations between the two countries. During his talks with Mongolian leaders, Kaifu discussed, in particular, bilateral relations.

The Mongolian prime minister said Japan's assistance to Mongolia has enabled it to improve its telecommunications, public health, railway transportation, and energy systems. Cooperation between the two countries in the cultural and the scientific and technological fields will be raised to new heights. The Mongolian prime minister also said that Japanese companies will have the access to economic investment in Mongolia.

Prime Minister Kaifu spoke highly of the democratization of Mongolian society and the transition to market economy. He said Japan wants to develop relations with Mongolia and other Asian countries.

Japanese Delegation Expected in Vladivostok

OW1408205291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An official delegation of the Prefecture of Fukui (Japan), headed by the governor-general Iukio Kurita, is expected to come to Vladivostok on August 21. The delegation will be composed of representatives of business circles, a large group of bank officials and specialists on information.

Iukio Kurita is supposed to take part in the Plenary Session of the Soviet-Japan twin-cities' meeting as a Guest of Honour.

Visa-Free Trips Between Japan, South Kurils

LD1308165991 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT 13 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo August 13 TASS—The Japanese who once lived in "Northern Territories", the South Kuril islands, which became Soviet territory as a result of the Second World War and which are now claimed by Japan, will possibly be able to visit the islands without visas and passports in autumn.

Soviet people now residing on these islands will be able to travel to Japan on the same basis. Both Soviet and Japanese citizens will only need an identification certificate issued by the authorities.

With a reference to sources in the Japanese government, the newspaper YOMIURI reports today that this matter can finally be settled next month. A spokesman for the Soviet Embassy in Japan, hovewer, preferred to keep from predicting specific timeframe. He told TASS that the problem is being discussed.

The idea of visa-free travel was first suggested by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev when he made an official visit to Japan last April. It is now being dicussed by the sides in a working procedure. It was already agreed that Soviet people living on South Kurils will have an opportunity for free travel in Japan.

The YOMIURI report shows, however, that the Japanese government is concerned over some aspects. People in Tokyo have long arrived at the conclusion that the more Soviet citizens visit Japan and see life there, the better it will be for bilateral relations. It will be easier to settle long-standing and sensitive territorial problem.

At the same time, the Japanese side is concerned that Soviet residents of "Northern Territories" will be trying to use their stay in Japan for the widening of economic ties, including development of rich marine resources in the area of the islands and the setting up of joint ventures, which Tokyo, apparently, does not like.

Japan's Foreign Ministry is concerned that the development of such exchanges can eclipse the issue of the possession of the islands claimed by Tokyo. As an official of the Japanese Foreign Ministry put it, "unscrupulous extension or contracts can lead to the perpetuation of the present status of the four islands".

Proceeding from this, the Japanese Foreign Ministry intends to limit trips of Japanese citizens to "Northern Territories", granting the right of visa-free travel to the islands above all to their former residents or persons connected with them in some way and also to journalists.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Yanayev Receives Outgoing SRV Ambassador

PM1408142391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[TASS report under general headline: "Official Reports"]

[Text] In the Kremlin 9 August USSR Vice President G.I. Yanayev received Nguyen Manh Cam, Vietnamese ambassador to the USSR, in connection with his departure home.

Australian Court: War Criminal's Trial Valid

LD1408132191 Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT 14 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Kuznetsov]

[Text] Canberra August 14 TASS—The high court of Australia today decreed by a majority vote that Ivan Polyukhovich, charged with perpetrating war crimes on the Soviet territory can be brought to court in accordance with Australian laws, the A.B.C. Broadcasting Corporation reports.

Last year Polyukhovich residing in Australia was charged with the execution of 25 people, including women and children, and with complicity in the murder of hundreds of peaceful people in the Soviet territory during the Second World War. Until 1949 he lived in Poland, and then settled in Australia where he worked in a forestry. He is now 75 and is retired on pension.

The amendment to the law on war crimes allowing to begin legal proceedings against war criminals who entered the country after 1945 is operating in Australia from 1988. Polyukhovich was the first one in Australia to be put on trial on the basis of this amendment.

The trial started in 1990 was disrupted in connection with the fact that the defence said that the Federal legislation on war crimes is unconstitutional. The high court has now passed the decision.

The defence, hovewer, continues to resort to various ploys to prevent the trial. They assert that Polyukhovich cannot stand the trial for health reasons (they say he suffers from dotage).

The attorney general noted that by June 1990 accusations were made against 650 Australian residents described as war criminals. Criminal proceedings can already be started against 12 of them.

Near East & South Asia

Commentator Skeptical on Mideast Peace Prospects

PM1508081191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Bovin "Political Observer's Opinion": "Problems, Problems Everywhere"]

[Text] In the wake of the lightning rout of Iraq, the prevailing opinion in Washington (as well as in Moscow, it seems) held that conditions were ripe for yet another attempt at a comprehensive Near East settlement. Proof of this is specifically offered by the recent joint Soviet-U.S. statement. The Americans have once more taken on the main job. After visitting Moscow, the U.S. secretary of state made his way—for the sixth time running!—to the Near East.

J. Baker is not to be envied. The problem "as such" is most difficult, as the interlocutors are stubborn and capricious. But the fundamental tenets of U.S. foreign policy regarding the settlement of regional conflicts, as well as specific U.S. interests which demand stability in the region (oil, Israel's security, and the strengthening of moderate Arab regimes) have made the leader of U.S. diplomacy patient, persistent, and flexible.

Syria's and Israel's agreement—even though subject to conditions—to take part in an international conference on the Near East settlement prompted a spate of optimistic commentaries. A glimmer of hope appeared. I would very much like to join the optimists in their elation and share their hope. Unfortunately, an impartial—as impartial as one can be—analysis of the specific situation leaves very little room for optimism.

First, there has been no agreement regarding Palestinian representation. Israel insists that the conference must not be attended by PLO representatives or by representatives of East Jerusalem or the Palestinian diaspora. "We have clearly and frankly told the Americans," Israeli Minister of Justice Dan Meridor said, "that if the PLO gets involved in the peace process, Israel will have nothing to do with it." Only representatives of the West Bank, who should be part of a single Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

Contradictory signals emerged from circles close to the PLO leadership. But judging by the latest reports, Yasir 'Arafat has firmly rejected Israel's approach and has emphasized: If the PLO decides not to take part in the Near East forum, "not a single Palestinian will sit around the negotiating table." In any event, it will hardly make sense to hold a conference convened against the PLO's will.

Second, there is no unanimity regarding the nature of the conference. Israel assumes that the conference proper, in other words the plenary sitting of all its participants (Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Israel, the United States, the USSR, and representatives of the United Nations and the EC as observers) should be essentially limited to a ritual opening, with Israel holding one-on-one talks with each of the Arab delegations. On the other hand, Syria rejects the idea of a preliminary ritual conference and insists on its permanent nature, offering a framework which would make direct talks between various delegations and Israel possible.

But let us imagine the almost unimaginable. Procedural obstacles have been overcome. The conference starts work. What next? What will they be talking about?

Israel categorically rejects the "land for peace" formula, which means that it does not intend to withdraw from the occupied territories. There cannot be even a mention of an autonomous Palestinian state. A kind of demonstration of resolve took place 5 August: Several Jewish families started moving in the West Bank settlement of Eshkolot, designed for 400 families. There has been no change at all on the question of Jerusalem, which was long ago proclaimed Israel's capital.

"Peace for peace"—this is how Tel Aviv posits the issue.

The Palestinians and the Arab states demand fulfillment of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 and insist on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories—the West Bank, the Golan Heights, and the Gaza Strip. The PLO Executive Committee's 7 August statement says again that Israel must recognize the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, and primarily their right to self-determination. East Jerusalem, 'Arafat declared in an interview with THE NEW YORK TIMES, must become the capital of an independent Palestinian state which could then proceed to form a confederation with Jordan if both countries so wish.

I find it hard to imagine any compromise being reached between the two aforementioned positions. They are too far removed. That which has been dubbed the "Baker Plan" (something "just a little more than autonomy" being given to the Palestinians after a three-year transition period) is hardly likely to satisfy both sides.

All arguments and all possible methods of "converging" pressure on Arabs and Jews seem to have been exhausted. Incidentally, W. Quandt, famous specialist in Near East affairs from the Brookings Institute (United States), has suggested the following idea. Israel will soon ask for additional appropriations for the settlement of new migrants (approximately $15-20 billion over the next five years). In Quandt's opinion, the United States could make this aid conditional on an end to the building of settlements and a softening of Israel's stance at the talks. But the U.S. Administration is hardly likely to heed this advice.

When justifying its stance, Israel—as always—refers to the Bible ("primordial lands") and the intransigence of Arabs who do not recognize the legitimacy of Israel's existence. The Bible is not my province, but legitimacy or illegitimacy ought to be discussed. It is well known that the Soviet Union consistently proceeds from the premise that Israel is fully entitled to exist and, consequently, to guaranteed security. Unfortunately, many Arab states are somewhat bashful in precisely formulating their position and recognizing—without reservations or ambiguity—Israel's right to exist. I have heard no statements to that effect from Damascus, for example. And even 'Arafat's statements are not always consistent. While in Libya last January, the PLO leader offered the following solution: The so-called "State of Israel" emerged as a result of World War II and it "must disappear, the way the Berlin Wall and other consequences of the War have disappeared."

With whom, and on what points, does 'Arafat intend to reach agreement while adhering to such a position? But another question is equally logical: With whom, and on what points, does Israel intend to reach agreement while resolutely rejecting any suggestion of withdrawing from the occupied lands and the Palestinians' right to have their own state? The Bible is fine, but nobody has yet repealed the United Nations' 1947 decision.

All in all, there are problems and more problems everywhere. The sides are not prepared either psychologically or politically for a mutually acceptable compromise. I fear that this situation will prevail at least until the end of the century.

This does not mean that the situation ought to be "frozen." Neither patience nor hope should be abandoned. Initiatives, quest, and review of options must and will continue. Specifically, it makes sense to discuss the possibility of partial, interim, and "separate" solutions and the gradual buildup of prerequisites for an all-embracing settlement. Ultimately, as it is now becoming clear, Camp David was not all that bad....

One last point. It is hard to charge Soviet diplomacy with being excessively active in the Near East. One gets the impression that our "maneuvering" is becoming an end in itself and tactics are becoming strategy. The question of restoring diplomatic relations with Israel has not only ripened, it is actually overripe. Reservations about "the context of unfolding the talks process" (Oh, mighty Russian language!) are juridically helpless, politically shortsighted, and highly vulnerable from the moral viewpoint. It does not befit a great power to demand payment for the correction of its own mistakes.

6 Afghan Fighters Exchanged for 1 Soviet POW

LD1408165191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Six members of the Afghan armed opposition who have been in captivity were sent to Pakistan from Kabul today. They, and 19 more opposition fighters, have been exchanged for one Soviet prisoner of war [POW].

Kurban Ali Tashrivov from the Central Asian Republic of Tajikistan has already been handed over to a Soviet representative in Islamabad by the Afghan opposition. He was captured four or five years ago in the western province of Herat in Afghanistan.

Over 300 Soviet servicemen have been reported missing in the 10 years of the Afghan war.

Kozyrev on Afghanistan Talks With Pakistan Leaders

OW1508002591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1719 GMT 14 Aug 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Nikolay Kozyrev, a special ambassador of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has just returned from Pakistan, where he had negotiations with the country's top leaders and Afghan mujahidin. He has had a meeting with journalists and informed them about the results of his visit.

His most fruitful contracts, he said, were those with the Pakistani leaders. The Soviet delegation, which consisted of three persons, was received by the top leadership. Kozyrev had a meeting with the President of Pakistan, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and the Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif.

Kozyrev appraised the results of the visit as positive. According to him, the positions of the Soviet Union and Pakistan are slowly but surely drawing closer. Both sides are willing to untie the Afghan knot, which impedes the normal development of relations between two countries. The sides have decided to continue their contacts.

In September, Moscow will be visited by a delegation from Pakistan. Both sides agreed that an armistice agreement should be reached in Afghanistan as soon as possible, and arms supplies to the belligerents from abroad should be stopped.

But, whereas Moscow holds that an armistice is the main condition for a long-term settlement, Islamabad insists that arms supplies to Afghanistan, above all from the Soviet Union, should be stopped, a demand which the Soviet Union rejects.

According to Kozyrev, the mujahidin have accumulated stocks of armaments which will enable them to carry out large-scale hostilities for at least two or three years, which means that the cessation of arms supplies will not by itself bring peace. This measure should be combined with others, those which would put an end to the war.

The Pakistanis on the whole agree that a dialogue within Afghanistan is necessary and admit that it is the mujahidin who refuse to start it, for they do not wish to have anything to do with the present Afghan regime. Hence serious disagreements between the two sides on another key issue, the role to be played by Najibullah in the transitional period preceding the free elections in Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union maintains that there are two basic political forces in Afghanistan today, the government and the opposition. Therefore, settlement should be based on a compromise between them. If the claims of one of the sides—in this case the Kabul regime—are ignored, Najibullah's supporters will retreat into the mountains, and the war will go on.

Moscow believes that, during the transitional period, the present political system should be preserved. Pakistan, however, takes a stand close to that of the mujahidin, believing that Najibullah should resign at some point during the transitional period, whereupon a coalition body should be set up comprising both mujahidin and members of the Kabul authorities, but none of the colleagues of today's President.

Kozyrev believes that these demands make settlement impossible, for Najibullah will never give up power of his own accord. The Soviet delegation met mujahidin leaders as well.

Kozyrev met representatives of all major opposition groups, including the leader of the Islamic Revolution Movement of Afghanistan, Muhammadi [name as received], members of the leadership of the two largest sections of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and of the Islamic society of Afghanistan, as well as with members of Shi'ite organisations based in Iran.

Kozyrev said that talks had been constructive. "We parted on a good note," he said. The sides decided to continue their dialogue, possibly even in Moscow. He added that some of the mujahidin leaders, including Mojaweddi and Hekmatyar, had earlier been given official invitations to visit Moscow, but none of them was able to come for various reasons.

Considerable attention in all conversations was paid to the Soviet war prisoners held up by the Afghan opposition. One of them, 25-year-old Kurban Ali-Tashrifov from Tajikistan, was released in exchange for 25 mujahidin held up in Afghanistan and was handed over to Kozyrev.

Negotiations are being carried on to free the other Soviet prisoners as well. At least 13 of them are alive. It has been found out in what detachments they are. The prisoners correspond with their families via the Red Cross. But the 1:25 ratio demanded by the opposition does not suit the Soviet side. "This is not a realistic kind of approach," Kozyrev believes. "So far Najibullah has been doing us favours by releasing his enemies as goodwill measures, but there is no guarantee that he will be doing so in future."

Border Guards Deny Accord With Afghan Rebels

OW1508035591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Deputy chief of staff of the KGB USSR border guard troops, Major General Viktor Zemtsov refuted reports by Western mass media that an agreement had allegedly been signed between the opposition party the Islamic Society of Afghanistan operating in northern Afghanistan and the command of the KGB USSR border guards that the Mujahidin would not penetrate the Soviet territory.

According to Zemtsov, no official agreements have been signed between the border guards and the Islamic Society of Afghanistan or other opposition parties and groupings operating in Afghanistan. According to the general, given the complex situation on a section of the border of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region of the Tadjik SSR, the border troops are taking every effort to ensure a reliable protection of the border and security for the residents of the border area.

Afghan Problem Settlement 'Not Promising'

LD1408204191 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 14 Aug 91

[By TASS observer Askold Biryukov]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—The Pakistani "NEWS", commenting on the two-day Soviet-Pakistani negotiations in Islamabad, said that they initiated the beginning of the peace process in Afghanistan, which can finally lead to the settlement of the problem through negotiations.

One would like to hope that the further process of the political settlement of the Afghan problem will proceed in this way.

The hope stems from the fact, which was confirmed during working meetings in Islamabad, that the need for a peaceful settlement of this problem today provokes no doubt on either side.

Another gratifying fact is that both sides see in a positive way the settlement plan proposed by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar last May.

At the same time, judging by the Pakistani stand, not everything in this plan satisfies Islamabad. And reservations made by Pakistan seem to deal with rather important aspects, including the internal Afghan dialogue, control over the ceasefire, the procedure of the formation and composition of the interim government, the holding of elections in Afghanistan and others.

The most significant is the difference in approaches of the Soviet Union and Pakistan towards the assessment of the actual situation in Afghanistan. Islamabad, influenced by the Afghan irreconcilables, continues to say that any settlement of the Afghan problem should mean the removal of the current Afghan regime.

In other words, it means such a "settlement", which would help the Afghan opposition to get what it failed to receive in the armed struggle with Kabul.

It is clear that such an approach towards the settlement of the Afghan problem is unrealistic and, thus, unpromising. It can only further hamper and postpone the process of national reconciliation in Afghanistan, and bring more sufferings to the country and the people.

The settlement of the Afghan problem is impossible without President Najibollah, said Klaus Jacobi, state secretary of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, who has recently visited the region.

However, Jacobi said that the settlement is equally impossible with Najibollah. Then, is the way out somewhere in the middle, most likely in the internal Afghan dialogue, to which some moderate leaders of the Afghan opposition begin to incline?

Unfortunately, the present situation around the Afghan settlement is not promising. The rebel leaders, especially the irreconcilables, call for a wide-scale combat operations in Afghanistan.

The elaboration of the joint Soviet-U.S. statement on Afghanistan is being dragged out. And this statement could put an end to the shipment of arms to all sides with the simultaneous ceasefire under a corresponding control.

Judging by reports from the conflict area, Pakistan is not in a hurry to confirm with specific deeds its words about the longing for a peaceful settlement. The active help to the armed Afghan opposition from Islamabad has not stopped.

The time when peace comes to the Afghan soil depends to a great extent on the Pakistani stand. One would like to believe that the forecast of the Pakistani newspaper will come true.

Direct Flights to Israel Reportedly Agreed Upon

OW1408184491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A memorandum of understanding was signed between the USSR Civil Aviation Ministry and the Israeli Transport Ministry in Moscow on Wednesday. According to a report of the Israeli Consulate-General's press service, Soviet Civil Aviation Minister Boris Panyukov agreed with the Israeli Transport Minister Moshe Katzav on the organization of direct flights from the USSR to Israel for the Soviet citizens leaving for Israel.

Moscow TV Reports

LD1408200191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1645 GMT 14 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" Newscast]

[Text] Today the Israeli minister of transport and Panyukov, minister of civil aviation, agreed on direct flights to Israel for those leaving for permanent residence.

USSR 'Probably' To Renew Relations With Israel

OW1408193391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1719 GMT 14 Aug 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" feature by diplomatic correspondent Petr Vasiliyev; item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The deputy head of the Middle East and North Africa Department, Anatoliy Filev, has informed "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] that diplomatic ties between the Soviet Union and Israel will probably be restored in early September. The restoration of diplomatic relations will be timed to coincide with Soviet Foreign Minister, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh's visit to the Middle East, he said.

It is assumed that Mr. Bessmertnykh's visit will take place at some time between the 5th and the 17th September (although exact dates have not yet been released). He is on holiday until the 5th and on the 17th the opening of the General Assembly of the United Nations will take place. It should also be remembered that on 10th September work on the CSCE Human Dimension Conference will begin. The visit will probably take place after the official opening events of the conference (10th - 12th September) in which the Foreign Ministers of 30 different countries will participate. Mr. Bessmertnykh will be obliged to attend.

A Soviet diplomat agreed with the assertion of the Chairperson of the Executive Committee of the World Zionist Council and the Israeli agency "Sokhnut", Simkhi Dinitz [name as received], who recently visited Moscow. He said that de facto diplomatic relations between the two countries already existed and that the establishment of de jure relations was not far off.

"Our two countries enjoy very close contacts indeed, intensive exchanges of delegations, including at the highest levels, are taking place and they are being received by government officials. Consular relations are developing in a satisfactory manner. These are obviously de facto relations!" remarked Mr. Filev.

The diplomat rejected suggestions that Moscow intended to link the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with attempts to influence Israel's position at the World Conference on the Middle East. "It is futile to swim in the stormy waters of supposition. In principle, we are against making any links. It is inevitable that in cases like these the question of countries' prestige will crop up, so we don't need to worry about links," said Filev.

Earlier, however, the Soviet side had indicated that the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Israel would depend on "the context of the negotiation process within the framework of preparations for the World Conference on the Middle East".

For his part, Yosef Ben-Dor, the press secretary at the Israeli Consulate General in Moscow told "DP" that Secretary of State, James Baker, was due to make his next visit to the Middle East before the opening of the General Assembly. "Furthermore," he added, "there is a possibility that before his visit to the region Mr. Baker will come to Moscow for the CSCE Conference."

Other sources suggest that Baker, and maybe other Western Foreign Ministers, will not come to the CSCE Conference in Moscow. It is quite possible that Baker and his Western colleagues will want to use their time in Moscow for bilateral and international negotiations on issues unconnected with human rights themes. The Soviet organisers of the conference are against this and blame the shortage of time on the heavy official programme.

Gorbachev Sends Greetings to Indian Officials

LD1408234791 Moscow TASS in English 2131 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 15 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev today sent a telegram to Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman and Indian Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao.

The telegram says the following:

"On behalf of the Soviet people, I congratulate you and the people of friendly India with the national holiday—the 44th anniversary of independence.

"Taking the opportunity, I confirm our solidarity with your policy of economic, social and cultural progress of the great India. The transitional period the Soviet Union is living through, difficulties and sharp problems in the course of perestroyka make us even more perceptive to the cares and affairs of our Indian friends.

"We have recently marked the 20th anniversary of the treaty on peace, friendship and cooperation, which serves well and reliably our mutual interests.

"We will soon mark the fifth anniversary of the famous Delhi Declaration, which embodied universal values of the modern world politics. It symbolizes the global significance of the Soviet and Indian interaction in international affairs.

"Greeting you, mister president and mister prime minister, I also greet all Indian people and hope for the further consolidation of traditionally friendly relations between our countries and peoples for the benefit of universal peace and progress.

"I wish well-being and peace to your wonderful country."

Comment Views Iranian Efforts in Hostage Release

NC1408123391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian to Iran 1430 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners. Iranian Vice President Hasan Habibi announced at his weekly news conference that Tehran will assist in obtaining the release of the Western hostages in Lebanon.

Following the release of the French, British, and American citizens in Lebanon and the message sent by the Islamic Jihad Organization to the UN secretary general, there is a general belief that the hostage issue has emerged from its inertia. At the very least, a number of high-level political personalities are making favorable statements.

Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday announced that he is optimistic about solving the hostage issue. U.S. President George Bush's spokesman stressed some of the positive points contained in the Lebanese group's message. French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas believes there is an increased chance for the hostages' release. Even Zionist Defense Minister Moshe Arens, after meeting the Tel Aviv representatives at the United Nations in Geneva, announced that his country will provide all possible assistance to release the Western citizens held in Lebanon.

It appears that Vice President Habibi's remarks have generated a series of favorable comments. An intensive assessment, however, reveals a more complicated situation. Just as we are aware, the Islamic Jihad group in its message to the UN secretary general proposed the exchange of Western hostages with Lebanese and Palestinians imprisoned in Israel and Europe. In addition, according to the Lebanese hard-liners, all future progress on the hostage issue is possible solely on the implementation of this condition.

Thus, it is interesting that Habibi's remarks are almost a verbatim echo of the demands by the paramilitary Islamic Jihad. Similarly, he linked the issue of the Western hostages very specifically to the Arab prisoners. In addition, the Iranian vice president also stipulated another condition.

According to his remarks, the hostages' fate should in general be resolved with Iranian interests in mind. This implies the fate of three Iranian diplomats who disappeared some years ago in southern Lebanon. The Iranian Government claims that they were abducted by a pro-Israeli group, and it has been demanding their release from the West for quite some time, .

Meanwhile, the Western countries have repeatedly declared that they have no information on the missing Iranian citizens, but the hostage issue nevertheless has now become extremely complicated and ambiguous. Today, miscellaneous forces have been dragged into this issue and each side is correct in its own right. In such circumstances, it is too farfetched to think that it will be appropriate to increase the number of conditions. Would it not be better for all the individuals to display goodwill?

Al-Qadhdhafi Sends Message to Gorbachev

LD1408132691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1235 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 14 Aug (TASS)—USSR Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev received 'Abdallah Salim al-Badri, special representative of the Libyan leadership and secretary of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah General People's Committee (minister) for petroleum, in the Kremlin today. He conveyed a personal message from Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. A friendly conversation took place on issues of bilateral relations and on the Middle East situation.

Officials Meet With Syrian Foreign Minister

LD1508093191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0815 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] Damascus, 15 Aug (TASS)—Faruq al-Shar', Syrian minister of foreign affairs, received on Wednesday Igor Melikhov, the USSR temporary charge d'affaires in Syria, who handed him a message from Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, the head of the Soviet foreign policy department. The SANA [SYRIAN ARAB NEWS AGENCY] agency reported that the Soviet minister's message touches on procedural issues for convening a peace conference on the Near East.

On the same day, Al-Shar' spoke with Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who arrived in Damascus on a working visit. SANA noted that, the meeting focused on the important role the mass media plays in forming public opinion about the satisfaction of the Palestinian people's rights, and on the "constructive position of the

USSR on a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of international law and on compliance with the relevant UN Security Council resolutions."

Sub-Saharan Africa

Deputy Foreign Minister on South Africa Visit

LD1308124691 Moscow TASS in English 1158 GMT 13 Aug 91

[By TASS special correspondent Sergey Kulik]

[Text] Pretoria August 13 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Valeriy Nikolayenko who was on a five-day visit in South Africa, told TASS that the development of cooperation between the two countries suits national interests of the Soviet Union and Africa.

Nikolayenko said that the purpose of his visit was to meet Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and to confirm Mikhail Gorbachev's invitation to Nelson Mandela to visit the USSR.

Nikolayenko said he took this opportunity to meet members of the South African Cabinet and representatives of the South African public to gather first-hand information about the processes in South Africa and the attitude of its people to changes in the USSR.

Nikolayenko said that the growing interest in South Africa for the USSR is connected with the changes taking place in South Africa under the influence of President Frederik de Klerk and also due to the efforts taken by the leadership of the ANC to promote political settlement.

"Opportunities open now to build a new South Africa which will shake off its racist past and will return to the folds of the world community. These changes create favourable conditions for a gradual establishment of cooperation between our two countries whose peoples have long been interested in each other", Nikolayenko said. He said that the support of Russian public for the liberation war of Boers can be recalled as a historic example.

Nikolayenko said there were no diplomatic contacts between the USSR and South Africa for the reason that the USSR does not accept the apartheid policies. This was reflected in the Soviet Union's support for U.N. resolutions. Now that measures to dismantle apartheid are being taken in South Africa, the situation is changing, and international isolation of South Africa is gradually decreasing. Nikolayenko said that American Senator Dennis Deconcini was staying in South Africa simultaneously with him and that French ministers and distinguished guests from other countries were expected.

"Talks with the ANC leaders with whom we are linked by long-standing bonds of solidarity and with government representatives passed in a friendly atmosphere", Nikolayenko said. He said that both sides had put forward their views on political settlement in South Africa. They believe that there is no alternative to it. Most South Africans are of the same opinion.

Just as always at crucial moments of history, militants are active, Nikolayenko said. He said that during the stay in South Africa he witnessed disturbances caused by right wing white organisations. Police acted promtly to neutralise disturbances.

During the exchange of opinions on transformations in the two countries, South Africans showed much interest in constitutional processes in the USSR. Nikolayenko said that meetings in Johannesburg and Pretoria with representatives of the ANC [and] of the cabinet make one more optimistic about the future of a political settlement in South Africa. Although distrust between the government and the ANC has not yet been disappeared completely, there is more confidence that other parties concerned will shortly join in the negotiating process and will be looking for reasonable compromise.

The future of South Africa is inseparable from the future of the entire South African region. South Africa can play an important role in the economic development and in integrational processes that are now gaining momentum in many areas of the world, Nikolayenko said. The regional aspect is more promising also for Soviet-South African cooperation. This applies to the settlement of conflicts and establishment of economic ties on the basis of infrastructures that the USSR and South Africa have in third countries. "We are interested in the development of economic cooperation with South Africa", Nikolayenko said.

Radio Interview With Nikolayenko

LD1408233191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1630 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Interview with Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Valeriy Nikolayenko from the "Africa As We See It" program; date and place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Valeriy Nikolayenko sums up his five-day visit to South Africa:

The visit has confirmed that the development of cooperation meets the national interests of both the Soviet Union and South Africa, since both countries are passing through a crucial period of their political and economic development. The former absence of diplomatic contacts between the two countries was connected with our nonapproval of the apartheid policy, when we offered our support to the UN resolutions on the score. Now that measures are being taken to dismantle the apartheid system, the situation is changing and leading to a lessening of the international boycott of South Africa. Changes in South Africa are creating a favorable condition for the gradual improvement of the cooperation between our two countries.

My visit was aimed at meeting with the president of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela. On the instructions of President Gorbachev, I extended to him an invitation to visit the Soviet Union. The talks with the ANC leadership, with whom we have been connected with long-standing ties of solidarity, and with the government members, were held in a friendly atmosphere. Both South African sides outlined their views on the ways to a political settlement in the country, a settlement that they believe has no alternative. The talks made me more optimistic as to the future political settlement in South Africa. Though there are still the remains of distrust between the government and the ANC, there is more confidence now that they and the other sides concerned will resume in the near future their negotiations and will continue to search for a compromise.

We can't speak about the future of South Africa without bearing in mind the future of the South African region as a whole. That country will play an important role in its economic development and in the integration processes there. The regional aspect seems more promising for the Soviet-South African cooperation too. That concerns the settling of conflict situations and developing economic contacts on the basis of the infrastructures that the Soviet Union and South Africa have in the Third World countries.

And that was an interview granted to Radio Moscow by the Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Valeriy Nikolayenko.

Prospects for USSR-RSA Trade Viewed

PM1408104191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by S. Mushkaterov: "USSR-South Africa: What Business Prospects?"]

[Text] It seems that a minor sensation has occurred in USSR-South African relations. A chink has finally appeared in the wall that for decades impeded the rapprochement of the interests of our countries' business associations.

A delegation from the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry (TPP) headed by V. Malkevich, chairman of its presidium, spent 10 days in South Africa on its first visit. Your IZVESTIYA correspondent met with members of this delegation, who spoke about the results of the trip.

The delegation signed several documents with the South African Chamber of Business, the "Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut" organization (also essentially a chamber of trade which pools the interests of the Afrikaners—the descendants of the first settlers, the Boers); and also with the National Federation of Chambers of Trade which brings together members of companies run by representatives of the black population of South Africa. Given that these three organizations represent the interests of over 80,000 South African companies, you can easily say that the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry has established contacts with practically the entire business community of the country.

The two countries' organizations have agreed to exchange business information, delegations, and specialists, assist the search for potential partners and personnel training, and help small business enterprises. They will also help one another in creating the necessary infrastructure; in particular, a USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry mission in South Africa, which may be opened before the end of the year, and also offices of South African firms and companies in the USSR. Subsequently, interested firms and enterprises could pool their interests in a joint organ—"The USSR-South African Business Council."

Additionally, talks were held and a protocol was signed on cooperation with the South African Foreign Trade Organization. Discussions with the heads of leading South African companies and visits to enterprises proved very productive.

There are many spheres of cooperation between USSR and South African business circles, particularly if you bear in mind that both countries are encountering similar economic problems. That is why, according to USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry experts, the main potential of future cooperation between the two countries lies in more comprehensive projects and should not just be restricted to the sphere of traditional trade.

The USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, to which many enterprises in the mining sector belong, has concluded a protocol on collaboration with the South African Chamber of Mining, which is involved in introducing progressive methods for mining operations, the exchange of technologies and experience in the sphere of the safety of mining operations, the elaboration of methods to combat work-related illnesses, and management and vocational and technical training in the mining industry. Incidentally, the training of skilled workers (not to be confused with managers), of whom South Africa has a shortage, could become another sphere of collaboration. Finally, South Africa's experience in the conversion and privatization sphere could be very interesting for the USSR.

But nevertheless let me recall that there are still some serious restrictions in the development of our ties. Large-scale economic collaboration between the two countries can only begin after the UN sanctions implemented against South Africa are repealed or significantly relaxed.

CPSU Greets Sixth Frelimo Party Congress

LD1208061591 Moscow TASS in English 0559 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 12 TASS—The Secretariat of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee sent cordial greetings to the delegates of the sixth congress of the

Frelimo Party and wished them successful work at this important and responsible stage in the life of Mozambique.

The telegram expresses confidence that "the traditional bonds of friendship between the CPSU and the Frelimo Party will continue to strengthen."

The congress of the Frelimo party ends on August 12.

Soviet Red Cross Doctors Working in Ethiopia

LD1308165391 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 13 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Valentin Kryukov]

[Text] Addis Ababa August 13 TASS—The personnel of the Dejazmach Balcha hospital of the Soviet Red Cross in Ethiopia has been working under great strain for over two months. The doctors and nurses are rendering urgent medical aid to the population of Addis Ababa, as well as to the wounded and sick soldiers from the army of Mengistu Haile Mariam, whose regime fell this May.

In the last few days the hospital has begun admitting servicemen from the former government army, taken prisoner in the Province of Tigre by detachments of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) which has assumed power. M.Amirbegishvili, the hospital's deputy director told TASS that many patients are in a very poor condition. The majority of soldiers have bullet wounds and almost all of them have either typhus, or malaria and are starving. At the hospital they receive immediate aid.

The first two weeks after the EPRDF units advanced into the capital were the most difficult ones for the hospital staff. At that time the wounded from both sides were brought in every hour, as well as civilians injured in street fighting and from explosions at ammunition warehouses. 810 people were hospitalised, 670 major operations were carried out and 1140 wounded received other forms of treatment. The main workload was carried out by the surgeons who had to operate round the clock. In the first three days after the fall of the Mengistu regime the Soviet hospital was the only hospital functioning in the city.

The hospital works under the aegis of the International Committee of the Red Cross and is under the protection of the EPRDF. The new authorities have from the very beginning been rendering assistance to the Soviet doctors. They provide for the security of the staff and protect the hospital from marauders and deserters, Amirbegishvili stressed.

East Europe

CPSU Officials Study Bulgarian Experience

PM1408094791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Aug 91 Second Edition p 5

[From the "Official Reports" column]

[Text] A group of CPSU officials headed by I.A. Zaramenskiy, first deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Department for Liaison With Sociopolitical Organizations, was in Bulgaria 6-9 August studying the Bulgarian Socialist Party's experience of parliamentary activity, and its work in preparing for elections of central and local organs of power.

The delegation was received by A. Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party's Supreme Council.

Poland Ready for Troop Withdrawal From Germany

LD1408131391 Moscow TASS in English 1241 GMT 14 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Piotr Cheremushkin]

[Text] Warsaw August 14 TASS—Poland is ready to cope with large-scale transit of Soviet troops being withdrawn from Germany, Polish Deputy Minister of Transport and Shipping Witold Hodakeiwicz said in an interview with the Catholic weekly LAD.

He said that special groops on the border check the size of cargoes and register what transport enters for the Polish territory and at what time.

Soviet troops leaving Germany will mostly travel by rail. Poland is capable of ensuring the passage of 20 and more trains from the West to the East. Two trains now pass Poland in transit.

Regarding arrangements for the withdrawal of Soviet Army units from Poland, Hodakiewicz said they have spur-tracks along which they can bring personnel and equipment to railway junctions. He said that the pay for the passage will be made in Swiss francs.

West Europe

Yeltsin Advisor Predicts Finland To Join EC

LD1408204491 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1500 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Academician Georgiy Arbatov, advisor to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, considers it likely that Finland will join the European community. Arbatov does not see any obstacles to the membership nor does he believe that possible EC membership will affect Finland's trade with the Soviet Union in any way. Interviewed on television news, Arbatov also notes that Russia is not willing to include crude oil in the barter trade between enterprises. The Finnish side hoped that oil would be included in the barter trade, but, according to Arbatov, Russia wants trade conducted with currency. Arbatov adds that oil cannot be considered a factor which could solve the problems of trade with the Soviet Union.

'Anxiety' Over Turkey's Anti-Kurd Actions

LD1408203391 Moscow Radio Moscow in French 1800 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Commentary by Aleksey Zlatorunskiy]

[Text] The Soviet press has published a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman's declaration. It says that the Soviet side is concerned about the events on the border between Turkey and Iraq, which involves a military operation Turkey has carried out. The Soviet Foreign Ministry's spokesman has expressed his heartfelt belief that it is inadmissible to use force to solve problems, whatever the motives.

Aleksey Zlatorunskiy continued: Last week, the Turkish troops, having entered Northern Iraq, carried out a large-scale operation against the Iraq-based Kurdish separatists who are struggling against the Turkish Government, according to AFP in Ankara. The Kurdish organizations have been carrying out subversive activities since 1984, and according to the press, have claimed the lives of nearly 3,000 Turkish citizens. Mr. Mesut Yilmaz, the Turkish prime minister, declared on Friday night that the Turkish troops' operation, aimed at crushing the Kurdish opposition, is progressing well, and that the military units concerned will return to their permanent bases very soon.

It should be added that the Soviet Union has not been alone in showing its anxiety over Turkey's military actions, which, as Turkey is its neighbor, is only normal. A number of other members of the international community are also doing so. I believe, judges Aleksey Zlatorunskiy, that there are good reasons for this. Let us remember that Turkey is a member of NATO. In fact it holds a special position because it is situated in the immediate proximity of the Gulf and Middle East countries. It is not by accident that NATO strategy has chosen its territory for the main base of its rapid deployment force. This decision by the Turkish leadership has not been enthusiastically received by the press of several Arab states, although the Arab states and Turkey are linked by mutually beneficial commerce and economic cooperation. Ankara has often been reminded that it has not been forgotten that the Turkish base at Incirlik was used to anti-Arab actions.

All the same, it is important that the military action carried out by Turkey against the Kurdish opposition goes against general international tendencies. The Turkish Government's anxiety over the resumption of action by opposition groupings in a neighboring country is understandable, as this threatens its sovereignty. But, if we follow Turkey's logic, tomorrow a similar pretext could be used for operations of a similar kind in the Near or Far East, in Africa, or in Europe. Would all this not plunge the whole world into general chaos? All aggression could then be justified: That of Iraq against Kuwait, that of Israel against the Arab countries, and so on.

In the context of world political changes, political ways of solving all problems should be found, Aleksey Zlatorunskiy has written in conclusion. It is logical that, in the declaration, the Soviet Foreign Ministry's spokesman expressed the hope that a limit will be imposed on military operations on the Iraqi Kurdish border. This is a precursor to normalizing the situation in this region.

Latin America & Caribbean

Brazilian Firm To Market KamAZ Trucks

PM0908105191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, IAN, REUTER, UPI roundup: "KamAZ Trucks on Brazilian Roads"]

[Text] Trucks made by the Kama Truck Plant [KamAZ] will soon be appearing on Brazil's roads in the wake of "Nivas," "Ladas," and "Samaras." The "Lada do Brasil" Company, which sells Soviet cars in Brazil, has signed an agreement with KamAZ on the delivery of trucks and bus chassis. It intends to invest $24 million in advertising and setting up a trade network, and initially aims to win 6 percent of the Brazilian truck market, which is currently controlled by companies like Ford, Fiat, and General Motors, IAN reports.

Yanayev Meets With Jamaican Delegation

LD0808200691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] In the Kremlin today, USSR Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev received a delegation of Jamaican parliamentarians, led by Cunningham, speaker of the House of Representatives, which is on an official visit to the Soviet Union. The sides discussed matters related to bilateral relations as well as a number of international and regional problems.

Political & Social

23 July 'Agreed' Text of Union Treaty Published

PM1408171091 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Aug 91 First Edition p 3

["Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States (Agreed 23 July 1991)"]

[Text] The states signing the present treaty,

proceeding from the declarations of state sovereignty proclaimed by them and recognizing the right of nations to self-determination;

mindful of the closely related historical destinies of their peoples and fulfilling their will for the preservation and renewal of the Union expressed in the 17 March 1991 referendum;

seeking to live in friendship and accord, ensuring cooperation based on equal rights;

wishing to create the conditions for all-around development of each individual and reliable guarantees of his rights and freedoms;

concerned for the material well-being and spiritual development of the peoples, the mutual enrichment of national cultures, and the safeguarding of their common security;

learning the lessons of the past and taking into account the changes in the life of the country and throughout the world,

have decided to build their relations within the Union on new principles, and have agreed on the following.

I. Basic Principles

First. Each republic party to the treaty is a sovereign state. The Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics (USSR) is a sovereign federal democratic state, formed as a result of the association of equal republics and exercising state power within the limits of its powers, which are voluntarily vested in it by the parties to the treaty.

Second. The states forming the Union retain the right autonomously to resolve all questions of their development, guaranteeing equal political rights and opportunities for socioeconomic and cultural development to all the peoples living on their territory. The parties to the treaty will proceed on the basis of the combination of panhuman and national values and will resolutely oppose racism, chauvinism, nationalism, and all attempts to restrict the peoples' rights.

Third. The states forming the Union regard as a most important principle the priority of human rights in accordance with the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other generally recognized norms of international law. All citizens are guaranteed the opportunity to study and use their native language, unhampered access to information, freedom of religion, and other political, socioeconomic, and personal rights and freedoms.

Fourth. The states forming the Union see the formation of a civil society as a most important condition of the freedom and well-being of the people and of each individual. They will seek the satisfaction of people's needs on the basis of a free choice of forms of ownership and methods of economic management, the development of the unionwide market, and the realization of the principles of social justice and protection.

Fifth. The states forming the Union possess the full plenitude of political power and autonomously determine their own national-state and administrative-territorial structure and the system of organs of power and administration. They may delegate some of their powers to other states party to the treaty of which they form part.

The parties to the treaty recognize as a common fundamental principle democracy based on people's representation and the direct expression of the peoples' will, and seek to create a rule-of-law state which will act as guarantor against any trends toward totalitarianism and tyranny.

Sixth. The states forming the Union consider one of the most important tasks to be the preservation and development of national traditions and state support for education, health care, science, and culture. They will promote the intensive exchange and mutual enrichment of humanist spiritual values and achievements of the peoples of the Union and the entire world.

Seventh. The Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics acts in international relations in the capacity of a sovereign state and an entity in international law, as successor to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Its main aims in the international arena are lasting peace, disarmament, the elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and cooperation among states and solidarity among peoples in resolving mankind's global problems.

The states forming the Union are full members of the international community. They are entitled to establish direct diplomatic and consular links and trade relations with foreign states, to exchange plenipotentiary representative missions with them, to conclude international treaties, and to participate in the activity of international organizations, without detriment to the interests of each of the Union states and their common interests and without violating the Union's international commitments.

II. Structure of the Union

Article 1. Membership of the Union

States' membership of the Union is voluntary.

The states forming the Union join it either directly or as members of other states. This does not infringe their rights or relieve them of their obligations under the treaty. They all enjoy equal rights and undertake equal obligations.

Relations between states when one of them is a member of the other are regulated by treaties between them, by the Constitution of the state of which the other is a member, and by the USSR Constitution. In the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]—by a federal or other treaty and the USSR Constitution.

The Union is open to be joined by other democratic states recognizing the treaty.

The states forming the Union retain the right to freely secede from it under a procedure prescribed by the parties to the treaty and enshrined in the Union's Constitution and laws.

Article 2. Citizenship of the Union

A citizen of a state that has joined the Union is simultaneously a citizen of the Union.

Citizens of the USSR enjoy equal rights, freedoms, and obligations enshrined in the Union's Constitution, laws, and international treaties.

Article 3. Territory of the Union

The territory of the Union comprises the territories of all states forming it.

The parties to the treaty recognize the borders existing between them at the time of signing the treaty.

Borders between states forming the Union can be altered only by agreement between them which does not violate the interests of other parties to the treaty.

Article 4. Relations Between the States Forming the Union

Relations between the states forming the Union are regulated by the present treaty, by the USSR Constitution, and by treaties and agreements which do not run contrary to them.

The parties to the treaty build their relations as members of the Union on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, solution of disputes by peaceful means, cooperation, mutual assistance, and conscientious performance of obligations under the Union treaty and interrepublic agreements.

The states forming the Union pledge: not to resort to force or the threat of force in relations between themselves; not to encroach one another's territorial integrity; not to conclude agreements running contrary to the Union's goals or aimed against the states forming it.

The use of USSR Ministry of Defense troops is not allowed inside the country, apart from their participation in the performance of immediate national economic tasks in exceptional circumstances, in the elimination of the consequences of natural calamities and ecological disasters, and in cases provided for under the legislation on state of emergency regime.

Article 5. Sphere of the USSR's Competence

The parties to the treaty vest the following powers in the USSR:

—Protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Union and its members; declaration of war and conclusion of peace; defense provisions and leadership of the Armed Forces and the Union's border, special (government communications, engineering and technical, and other), internal, and railroad troops; organization of the development [razrabotka] and production of armaments and military equipment.

—Provision of the Union's state security; determining the regime and safeguarding the Union's state border, economic zone, and maritime and air space; leadership and coordination of the activity of republics' security organs.

—Pursuit of the Union's foreign policy and coordination of republics' foreign political activity; representation of the Union in relations with foreign states and international organizations; conclusion of the Union's international treaties.

—Pursuit of the Union's foreign economic activity and coordination of republics' foreign economic activity; representation of the Union in international economic and financial organizations and conclusion of the Union's foreign economic agreements.

—Ratification and implementation of the Union budget, implementation of money emission; custody of the Union's gold reserves and its diamond and foreign currency funds; leadership of space research; management of air traffic and the all-Union systems of communications and information, geodesy and cartography, metrology, standardization, and meteorology; management of the nuclear power industry.

—Adoption of the Union Constitution and the introduction of amendments and additions to it; adoption of laws within the framework of the Union's powers and prescription of fundamentals of legislation on questions agreed with the republics; supreme constitutional oversight.

—Leadership of the activity of federal law enforcement organs and coordination of the activity of Union and republic law enforcement organs in the struggle against crime.

Article 6. Sphere of Joint Competence of the Union and Republics

The organs of state power and administration of the Union and the republics exercise jointly the following powers:

—Protection of the Union's constitutional system, based on the present treaty and the USSR Constitution; guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of USSR citizens.

—Determination of the Union's military policy, implementation of measures to organize and guarantee defense; prescription of unified procedures for draft into and performance of military service; prescription of the border zone regime; solution of questions concerning the activity of troops and the placement of military installations on republics' territory; organization of the national economy's mobilization preparation [mobilizatsionnaya podgotovka]; management of defense complex enterprises.

—Determination of the Union's state security strategy and guaranteeing the republics' state security; alterations to the Union's state border subject to consent by the relevant party to the treaty; protection of state secrets; determination of the list of strategic resources and articles not allowed to be exported beyond the Union's borders, prescription of general principles and normatives in the sphere of ecological safety; prescription of procedures for the acquisition, custody, and utilization of fissionable and radioactive materials.

—The determination of the USSR foreign policy course and the monitoring of its conduct; the defense of the rights and interests of citizens of the USSR and the rights and interests of the republics in international relations; the establishment of the bases of foreign economic activity; the conclusion of agreements on international loans and credits and the regulation of the Union's foreign state debt; a single customs service; the protection and rational use of the natural resources of the economic zone and continental shelf of the Union.

—The determination of strategy for the socioeconomic development of the Union and the creation of conditions for the formation of a unionwide market; the pursuit of a single financial, credit, monetary, tax, insurance, and prices policy based on a common currency; the creation and use of the gold reserve and the Diamond and Currency Reserves of the Union; the drafting and implementation of unionwide programs; the monitoring of the implementation of the Union budget and the coordinated emission of money; the creation of unionwide funds for regional development and elimination of the consequences of natural calamities and disasters; the creation of strategic reserves; the introduction of uniform unionwide statistics.

—The development of a unified policy and balance in the sphere of fuel and energy resources, the management of the country's power system and main gas and oil pipeline, unionwide railroad, and air and sea transport; the establishment of the bases for the utilization of natural resources and environmental protection, veterinary science, animal diseases, and the quarantining of plants; and the coordination of action in the sphere of the management of water resources and resources of interrepublic significance.

—The determination of the bases for social policy on questions of employment, migration, working conditions, pay, and occupational safety, social security and insurance, public education, health care, physical culture, and sports; the establishment of the bases for pension provision and the maintenance of other social guarantees, including when citizens move from one republic to another; the establishment of a uniform procedure for the indexation of incomes and the guaranteed minimum necessary for subsistence.

—The organization of fundamental scientific research and the provision of incentives for scientific and technical progress and, the establishment of common principles and criteria for the training and certification of scientific and teaching cadres; the determination of a common procedure for the use of medicinal substances and methods; promotion of the development and mutual enrichment of national cultures; the preservation of the traditional habitat of small peoples; the creation of conditions for their economic and cultural development.

—Monitoring of observance of the Constitution and the laws of the Union, decrees of the president, and decisions made within the framework of Union competence; the creation of a unionwide criminal record and information system; the organization of combatting crimes committed on the territory of several republics; the determination of a unified system for the organization of corrective establishments.

Article 7. The Procedure for the Exercise of the Powers of State Organs of the Union and the Joint Powers of State Organs of the Union and the Republics

Questions falling within joint competence are resolved by the organs of power and administration of the Union and the states which form it by agreement [soglasovaniye], special agreements [soglasheniya], and the adoption of the Fundamentals of Legislation of the Union and the republics and corresponding republic laws. Questions falling within the competence of Union organs are decided by them directly.

Powers not directly assigned under Articles 5 and 6 to the exclusive jurisdiction of Union organs of power and administration or to the sphere of joint competence of organs of the Union and the republics remain under the jurisdiction of the republics and are exercised by them autonomously or on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements between them. After the signing of the treaty a corresponding change takes place in the powers of the organs of administration of the Union and the republics.

The parties to the treaty proceed on the basis that as the all-Union market develops, so the sphere of direct state management of the economy is reduced. The necessary redistribution or change in the volume of powers of the organs of administration will be carried out with the consent of the states forming the Union.

Disputes over questions of the exercise of the powers of Union organs or the realization of rights and fulfillment of duties in the sphere of the joint powers of the organs of the Union and the republics are resolved through conciliation procedures. In the event that a consensus is not reached, disputes are submitted for examination by the Union Constitutional Court.

The states forming the Union participate in the exercise of the powers of Union organs through the joint formation of the said organs, and also through special procedures for coordinating and implementing decisions.

Each republic may, by concluding an agreement with the Union, additionally delegate to it the exercise of particular powers belonging to it, while the Union, with the consent of all the republics, may transfer to one or several of the republics the exercise within their territory of particular powers belonging to it.

Article 8. Ownership

The Union and the states forming it ensure the free development and protection of all forms of ownership and create the conditions for the functioning of enterprises and economic organizations within the framework of the single unionwide market.

The land, mineral resources, water, other natural resources, and the plant and animal world are the property of the republics and the inalienable assets of their peoples. The procedure for tenure, enjoyment, and disposal of them (the right of ownership) is established by the republics' legislation. The right of ownership with regard to resources located on the territory of several republics is established by Union legislation.

The states forming the Union assign to the Union state-owned facilities necessary for the exercise of the powers vested in Union organs of power and administration.

Property which is under Union ownership is used in the common interests of the states forming the Union, including the interests of the accelerated development of the more backward regions.

The states forming the Union are entitled to their share of the gold reserve and the diamond and foreign currency reserves of the Union that are in existence at the time of the conclusion of the present treaty. Their participation in the future accumulation and utilization of the treasuries is defined by separate agreements.

Article 9. Union Taxes and Levies

In order to finance Union budget expenditure linked with the implementation of the powers transferred to the Union, unified Union taxes and levies are set at fixed percentage rates determined by agreement with the republics on the basis of the items of expenditure submitted by the Union. Monitoring of Union budget expenditure is carried out by the parties to the treaty.

Unionwide programs are funded by proportional contributions from the interested republics and the Union budget. The volume and purpose of unionwide programs are regulated by agreements between the Union and the republics taking into account their indicators of socioeconomic development.

Article 10. Union Constitution

The Union Constitution is based on this treaty and may not contravene it.

Article 11. Laws

The laws of the Union and the constitutions and laws of the states forming it may not contravene the provisions of this treaty.

Laws of the Union on questions within its competence take precedence and are mandatory for execution on the territory of the republics.

The laws of a republic take precedence on its territory on all questions except those which are assigned to the Union's jurisdiction.

A republic is entitled to suspend the operation on its territory of a Union law and challenge it if it violates the present treaty or contravenes the Constitution or laws of the republic adopted within the limits of its powers.

The Union is entitled to challenge and suspend the operation of a republic's law if it violates the present treaty or contravenes the Constitution or the laws of the Union adopted within the limits of its powers.

Disputes are passed to the Union Constitutional Court, which adopts a definitive decision within a month.

III. Organs of the Union

Article 12. The Formation of Union Organs

Union organs of power and administration are formed on the basis of the free will of the peoples and the representation of the states forming the Union. They function strictly in accordance with the provisions of the present treaty and the Union Constitution.

Article 13. The USSR Supreme Soviet

The legislative power of the Union is exercised by the USSR Supreme Soviet, which consists of two chambers: the Soviet of the Republics and the Soviet of the Union.

The Soviet of the Republics comprises representatives of the republics delegated by their supreme organs of power. Republic and national-territorial formations retain no fewer deputies' seats in the Soviet of the Republics than they had in the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities at the time the treaty was signed.

All deputies to this chamber from a republic that directly belongs to the Union have a single common vote when deciding matters. The procedure for electing representatives and their quotas are defined in a special agreement between the republics and by USSR electoral law.

The Soviet of the Union is elected by the population of the whole country from electoral districts with an equal number of voters. Representation of all republics party to the treaty in the Soviet of the Union is guaranteed.

The chambers of the Union Supreme Soviet jointly make changes to the USSR Constitution; admit new states to the USSR; determine the fundamental principles of Union domestic and foreign policy; approved the Union budget and the report on its implementation; declare war and conclude peace; and approve changes to Union borders.

The Soviet of the Republics adopts laws on the organization and procedure for the work of Union organs; examines questions of relations between the republics; ratifies the USSR's international treaties; and gives consent to the appointment of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

The Soviet of the Union examines questions of safeguarding the rights and freedoms of citizens of the USSR and adopts laws on all questions except those under the jurisdiction of the Soviet of the Republics. Laws adopted by the Soviet of the Union enter into force after being approved by the Soviet of the Republics.

Article 14. The President of the Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics

The Union president is the head of the Union state, exercising supreme executive and administrative power.

The Union president acts as guarantor of the observance of the Union treaty and of the Union Constitution and laws; he is commander-in-chief of the Union Armed Forces; he represents the Union in relations with foreign countries and monitors the fulfillment of the Union's international commitments.

The president is elected by Union citizens on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot for a term of five years and for no more than two successive terms. The candidate who receives more than half of the votes cast in the Union as a whole and in the majority of states forming the Union is deemed elected.

Article 15. The Vice President of the USSR

The USSR vice president is elected at the same time as the USSR president. The Union vice president exercises individual functions of the USSR president as empowered by him, and deputizes for the USSR president in the event of his absence or inability [nevozmozhnost] to perform his duties.

Article 16. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers

The Union Cabinet of Ministers is the Union organ of executive power, is subordinate to the USSR president, and is responsible to the Supreme Soviet.

The Cabinet of Ministers is formed by the Union president in agreement with the Union Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republics.

The heads of the republic governments take part in the work of the Union Cabinet of Ministers with the right to vote.

Article 17. The USSR Constitutional Court

The USSR Constitutional Court is formed on an equal basis by the USSR president and each of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Union Constitutional Court examines questions of the compliance of legislative acts of the Union and the republics, decrees of the Union president and republic presidents, and normative acts of the Union Cabinet of Ministers with the Union treaty and Union Constitution and also resolves disputes between the Union and the republics and among republics.

Article 18. Union (Federal) Courts

The Union (federal) courts are the USSR Supreme Court, the Union Supreme Court of Arbitration, and courts in the Union Armed Forces.

The Union Supreme Court and the Union Supreme Court of Arbitration exercise judicial power within the limits of the Union's powers. The chairmen of republics' supreme judicial and arbitration organs are ex-officio members of the Union Supreme Court and the Union Supreme Court of Arbitration respectively.

Article 19. The USSR Prosecutor's Office

Oversight of the implementation of Union legislative acts is exercised by the Union general prosecutor and the general prosecutors (prosecutors) of the republics and prosecutors sudordinate to them.

The Union general prosecutor is appointed by and accountable to the Union Supreme Soviet.

The general prosecutors (prosecutors) of republics are appointed by their supreme legislative organs and are ex-officio members of the Union Prosecutor's Office collegium. In their work of overseeing the implementation of Union laws they are accountable both to the supreme legislative organs of their own states and to the Union general prosecutor.

IV. Concluding Provisions

Article 20. The Language of Interethnic Intercourse in the USSR

Republics autonomously determine their own state language (languages). Parties to the treaty recognize Russian as the language of interethnic intercourse in the USSR.

Article 21. The Capital of the Union

The capital of the USSR is the city of Moscow.

Article 22. The Union's State Symbols

The USSR has a state emblem, flag, and anthem.

Article 23. The treaty's Entry Into Force

The present treaty is approved by the supreme organs of state power of the states forming the Union, and comes into force the moment it is signed by their authorized delegations.

For the states which have signed the treaty, from that date the 1922 Treaty on the Formation of the USSR is deemed to lose effect.

Most favored status operates for states which have signed the treaty on its coming into force.

Relations between the Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics and republics belonging to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics but which have not signed the present treaty are regulated on the basis of USSR legislation and mutual obligations and agreements.

Article 24. Responsibility Under the Treaty

The Union and the states forming it bear mutual responsibility for fulfillment of adopted obligations and make good losses incurred through violations of the present treaty.

Article 25. The Procedure for Amendments and Additions to the Treaty

The present treaty or its separate provisions may be rescinded, amended, or augmented only with the consent of all states forming the Union.

If the need arises, appendixes to the treaty may be adopted by agreement between the states which have signed it.

Article 26. Continuity of the Union's Supreme Organs

For the purposes of continuity in exercising state power and administration, the supreme legislative, executive, and judicial organs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics retain their powers right up until the formation of the supreme state organs of the Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics in accordance with the present treaty and the new USSR Constitution.

Sobchak Welcomes Upcoming Signing of Union Treaty

LD1408165691 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 14 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolai Kondratenko]

[Text] Leningrad August 14 TASS—Leningrad Mayor Anatoly Sobchak described the upcoming signing of the Union treaty as a "historic event".

It is historic because a foundation for new relations between the central authorities and republics will be laid down, that will lead to the creation of a genuine union of sovereign states, Sobchak believes.

The political significance of this document is enormous as the country is now lacking the legal basis of the statehood, Sobchak stressed in a TASS interview.

Each republic has proclaimed its sovereignty. Actually, the Soviet Union is not a single state any more. In order to restore this status it is necessary to conclude such a treaty as quickly as possible.

This will be a huge step forward. All the rest will depend on the political will of its participants, and on whether or not sanctions for the non-fulfilment of reached agreements will be included in the treaty.

"We cannot speak about our new statehood without legal responsibility of all sides that sign this document," Sobchak said.

"The treaty will be a starting point in the transition from a unitary state, as we used to be, to a renovated federation. It creates conditions for the adoption of a new constitution and the formation on a different from what we have now basis of Union bodies of power.

"I would compare this treaty with the one the United States concluded after the Civil War. Principles proclaimed then are still the fundamentals of the United States' statehood.

"I would like to see our treaty as long-lived as the American Declaration of Independence, and serve as the same reliable political and legal basis of the renovated Union."

Asked whether the treaty will contribute to the political and economic stabilisation of the country, the mayor gave a positive answer.

"The treaty includes this possibility. But we should not allow our extreme right- and left-wing political forces to wreck this opportunity, as every time the stabilization becomes possible, there come people who try to break this process.

"The signing of the treaty will add us optimism. Anyway, it will be easier to solve our regional problems," Sobchak said.

Sobchak forecasts the situation after the signing of the treaty in the following way: The need for political and economic interaction will make those republics that will not sign the treaty take certain political decisions.

Alone they will not be able to solve economic problems and get out of the crisis. It is very important in this respect that the new Union authorities develop relations with them on the basis of an agreement.

In other words, the relations will be built up with due account of real factors and the emerging political situation.

Shcherbakov Discusses 'Anticrisis Program'

LD1408164591

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1540 GMT on 13 August carries a 45-minute edition of its regularly scheduled "Political Dialogues" program, including "excerpts" from a recorded discussion between Vladimir Ivanovich Shcherbakov, USSR first deputy prime minister, and a "group of leading businessmen" and "experts" at Moscow's House of Scientists. The Date is not given.

Shcherbakov is invited to open the proceedings with a few words, saying: "This anticrisis program, this long-suffering program by now, was finally confirmed by the president on 5 July. It was signed by 10 republics. Moldavia has confirmed its willingness to sign it very soon. Latvia and Lithuania have said that they would be prepared to join in this program, but they propose that this should be formulated through a special agreement avoiding the need to sign as part of the 15 union republics because they wish to switch to interstate relations rather than stick to internal union relations. Thus, one could say that 13 republics are prepared to support it. What is the essence of this program? First, everyone has concluded that escaping the crisis is possible only on the basis of deepening and accelerating market relations. I want to draw particular attention to this because all previous government programs proceeded from the fact that, first of all, one had to stabilize the situation and, after that, take the next step toward the market. We have now rejected that theory, and, just as in times past, we emerged from crisis with the aid of the new economic policy [NEP]. Now, we have chosen approximately the same means."

After a brief video clip in which a cartoon character points out that the NEP did not last for long, Shcherbakov continues: "The basic provisions are founded on the fact that the market must be developed and deepened, developed first and foremost in the commercialization of the activities of the state enterprises and a higher level of freedom of activity for enterprises, in general, in the field of economic management. Essentially, they are being given complete freedom to dispose of their incomes, and we are changing the tax system considerably starting in 1992. We are giving up the sales tax; we are giving up the turnover tax; we are moving over to more progressive taxation. All money the enterprise invests—into technically re-equipping and modernizing and expanding production—all money invested in privatization, all this is being removed from taxation, and there is a whole list of other measures, too. When we were working out the program, there were two main approaches: some people insisted that inflation had to be suppressed immediately; others said no, on the contrary, the steam of this inflation should be allowed to escape in full, that it built up, and that this steam ought to be allowed to escape through shock therapy, therefore balancing the market. Quite frankly, I share neither of these extreme views. I consider it possible to suppress inflation. We have been doing that for 73 years; we have learned how to do it. However, we see that that is a blind alley. If we were to proceed using shock therapy.... [changes thought] I think we tried that road a little on 2 April. Everyone saw what happened. Remember how many people there were wanting to support the 500-Day Program and so on up to then? What happened on 2 April isn't, so to speak, even a bloom; it's merely the bud of what could have happened by using the shock therapy methods. I think we must move quietly and calmly, not lingering in one spot but not staging a new collectivization either."

After a video clip showing a number of interviews in which people complain about the activities of profiteering private traders, G.B. Rysin, representing the "Avtokam" association, likens entrepreneurs to a golden ram which in three or four years' time will start to produce a golden fleece and asks whether the Cabinet of Ministers and the Finance Ministry today wish to take care of a ram of this kind or intend to take the wool right away. Shcherbakov replies that there is no desire to shear for the sake of shearing.

At 1555 GMT a video carries a profile of the Podolsk sewing machine concern. The concern's president, G.A. Komarenko, complains to Shcherbakov about the plight of the producer, who sees his output being sold in commercial shops at prices far higher than the ones he receives. Shcherbakov puts it down to the turnover tax on sewing machines rather than profiteering by the state shops, before launching into the following dialogue with Komarenko and V.V. Vitryanskiy, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic deputy chief state arbitrator:

[Shcherbakov] The question boils down to this: You want to regulate your own situation through the price. If we move forward exclusively along that road, then we won't get anywhere.

[Komarenko] But we are not increasing our prices. We simply want to exercise the right to that kind of retail trade and that kind of percentage markup.

[Shcherbakov] Then exercise it. What's stopping you?

[Komarenko] What's stopping me? I have a state order. I've worked it out exactly. My state order for this year is effectively 100 percent, and I'm not sure how I'll be living in 1992.

[Shcherbakov] I can't talk about this year now, how it was worked out for you, but I can say that for 1992 the government decision says that the state order will be no greater than 50 percent; no greater than; less, by all means, but more, no, as far as your type of output is concerned. I think that you'll be left with at least half. It'll be possible for you to act....

[Vitryanskiy, interrupting] Excuse me, Vladimir Ivanovich. Are you thinking of decision No. 360?

[Shcherbakov] Yes, decision No. 360.

[Vitryanskiy] I must use my right as an expert to say, by way of information, that the Russian Federation Council of Ministers refused to introduce that decision on Russian territory.

[Shcherbakov] The issue here is a different one. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers refused to introduce it because it disagrees with the federal tax.

[Vitryanskiy] Also on account of the state order.

[Shcherbakov] On the state order, the Russian Federation Council of Ministers has a completely different position. They say that there is no need for the state order.

[Vitryanskiy] Here is decision No. 350 of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, dated 24 June 1991. It envisages that volumes of output deliveries for state deliveries.... [changes thought] The same state order, but it will be formed on a contractual basis, it will be allocated voluntarily, on the basis of agreements enterprise by enterprise via a system of a state customer in Russia. It would be interesting to know how the Cabinet of Ministers regards this system.

[Shcherbakov] I think it is a very interesting idea. Let's wait until December and see what happens.

[Komarenko] By December it will be too late.

[Shcherbakov] I am in favor of that kind of system, too, only I think that changing from one system to another in that way isn't very plausible. That's my view, so to speak, as a professional in this field.

At 1605 GMT P.F. Sandul, general director of the Enzim association, notes some of the needs of the medicines industry to be able to produce goods marketable in the West, engaging Shcherbakov in the following discussion:

[Sandul] Will the present government maintain the priorities? Or will, say, the principle of continuity be observed in matters relating to priorities, particularly the medical industry?

[Shcherbakov] As to whether we will continue our line, yes, we will, and the anticrisis program, among all the other issues, singles out directly the production of medicines. For us, this is an extraordinarily important problem today. There is no doubt about it. A second question is by what means. On the one hand, we will have a protectionist policy regarding the enterprises of this industry, and it is perfectly obvious to us that if one were simply to let them completely loose on the market without protection then they would perish. We will, therefore, help the whole industry, and we intend to do so, but this doesn't mean that you must, therefore, sit and wait for help from the government and do nothing for yourselves.

Dr. Vladlen Sirotkin, professor of the "Diplomatic Academy," then asks a question, prompting the following dialogue:

[Sirotkin] The whole time now we talk about specific enterprises, about the difficulties of the changeover to the market, and we talk about the 15 republics. We also have a 16th republic: the military industrial complex. I'd even say that this was a state within a state. According to various calculations—both Soviet and foreign—up to 70 percent of our industry works directly or indirectly for defense, not to mention the fact that a considerable part of our territory is still closed and foreign businessmen, say, are unable to go there. Until recently, it wasn't possible to travel along the Volga: Everything was closed as far as Nizhniy Novgorod. How can one talk about a market and how can one talk about entering the world economic area if we still have the concept of the besieged fortress? Why did the NEP succeed? Because Lenin reduced the army by a factor of ten, from 5.5 million to 500,000.

[Shcherbakov] I disagree with many of the details you have given, including the extent of our military industrial complex which has nothing at all in common with those figures. It is indeed a monster; it is indeed an enormous monster, but certainly not on the scale you have just said. As far as metals are concerned, it consumes just 11 percent in our country, 11 percent of the total consumption. As far as aluminium is concerned, the figure is a little higher—17 percent, I think—because the whole of the aircraft industry is here, but civilian aircraft are made, too, so when you work out the military figure it is even less. It isn't all so simple. I am speaking from memory, and I could be wrong by a couple of percentage points, but during the past three years we have reduced expenditure on armaments purchases by 26 percent in terms of comparable prices. The process is taking place. It is not such a simple one. We do not exclude the military industrial complex from the overall market transition, unlike the previous program. We have said that in the program for taking things out of state hands all industries will come within this program, including military ones. From the view of its cadres, its production base, its discipline, and the responsible attitudes of the people, I think that the defense complex is the best prepared and best adapted of all for the market transition.

A video clip of interviews in which people on the street express varying degrees of confidence in different political leaders follows.

At 1615 GMT Shcherbakov outlines what is permitted by the property law, saying: "A very great deal has been done recently, over the past year, even. The property law defined the basis as to who can enter the market and with what. The enterprise law finally determined the rights of the subject that is economically active. Removing things from state hands—the law on taking things out of state hands—helps create variety out of a single type of ownership. The enterprise law has provided an economic and legal foundation for any initiative. Things that used to lead to imprisonment are now welcomed, but our legal base and the market's organizational base are still being formed. The enterprise can already feel itself protected in many respects. Can you begin working in this structure today? Just try to remember: If three years ago Rysin said that he was going to create an association for the assembly of Mercedes vehicles from imported components, we would have said: You know, you're not feeling well, old chap, you've been overdoing it in the sun. A people's concern in the defense complex! Just imagine, three years ago. Enormous movement has been taking place, all the same, you must admit."

Yu. G. Gekht, general director of the Sokolniki Association, then raises the question of the need for a differentiated approach to taxing companies. He welcomes the idea of the Russian government that money spent on investment and modernization should be taken out of taxation, sparking the following conversation:

[Gekht] By our own efforts, over the past two years we have invested more than 20 million on modernization. The equipment was ancient. How can one enter the market today and engage in competition like that? The West will swamp us, and if we are not prepared like Poland we will simply perish. (?Why should we not be given) tax concessions? Today, I am getting 200-220 million in foreign credits. As far as I know, this is the first case where credits in this kind of sum are being given not to the state but to the entrepreneur, a direct, specific-purpose credit to the enterprise. The idea of whether they are going to take 40 percent from me or whether they are not going to take 40 percent from me is so imprecise that this situation, you know, is frightening. Honestly and frankly, I spent three years proving to them that we are capable not only of taking this credit but of repaying it, and they must trust us. They are very cautious in these matters, when such an enormous sum is involved.

[Shcherbakov] We say enough's enough. We, too, cannot and no doubt will not go on taking government credits, faceless credits. You take loans of other people's money for a time, you know, and you pay back your own with a great deal more besides, and, all the same, the situation compels us to spend it ineffectively. Where credits are concerned, we say let's do it like this: You invest in specific projects; don't give us the credit; give it to Sokolniki by all means; draw up a mutually advantageous program of, if it's Rysin, say, draw up a project; invest your dollars, marks, pounds, or what have you, and carry out a mutually advantageous operation.

[Gekht] (?But will taxation be applied to it)?

[Shcherbakov] In cases where investment is taking place, we will not take taxes here, and we have already made that decision.

After a video clip in which people on the street are asked how they would earn their first million and what they would do with it, Shcherbakov sums up the meeting by saying: "I am deeply convinced that, if you don't begin to think things out for yourself and start looking for solutions, then nothing will happen. Water doesn't flow under a stone that lies on the ground, and that's a 100 percent true proverb. A million examples can be given where the will to succeed solves utterly intractable questions and vice versa, where everything that's needed is there, but everyone stands around waiting for the very latest, the wisest instruction. I think that this kind of meeting ought to serve perhaps the main goal of ensuring that everyone understands that business is: 1) permitted; 2) that is must move forward; and 3) that it depends entirely upon you. Let's get going. We've been sitting around long enough."

Paper Critiques 'Classified' CPSU Finances

Unanswered Questions About Funding

914B0302A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by Vitaliy Marsov in the column "Top Secret:" "All the Money of the CPSU. Is It Really All?"]

[Text] **Today, party newspapers are publishing a new draft CPSU Program. Since NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA published this draft as long as two weeks ago, we are publishing other secret CPSU documents.**

We are publishing in this issue of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA excerpts from the documents of the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs which are classified "For Official Use Only" and "Secret." The documents refer to the implementation of the CPSU budget for 1990 and projected expenditures and proceeds of the party budget in 1991.

Statistics quoted in the documents make it possible to follow many interesting trends. For example, this trend: The level of proceeds from membership dues has declined in all party organizations of the CPSU with the exception of military organizations. Is this the reason why the CPSU is fighting the departyization of the Armed Forces so vigorously? Actually, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA commentator Yuliy Lebedev discusses many things in his commentary on the documents.

However, the documents raise more questions than they answer. Some of these questions follow.

How did 500 million rubles [R] which the CPSU has so generously allocated to help the victims of the Chernobyl disaster "dissolve?"

How come large state establishments, the USSR Ministry of Defense and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, turned out to be "debtors" of the CPSU and transferred their "debts," 36.5 million and 3.2 million foreign-exchange rubles respectively, to the party so hastily in 1991?

Who else in our country (and perhaps not only in our country) is such a debtor? Does anybody have control over these large sums changing hands?

In general, foreign-exchange rubles, to say nothing of foreign exchange proper, are barely reflected in the documents presented—in one or two lines. Meanwhile, since the CPSU has a reserve fund in "wooden" rubles from which more than R1 billion may be shelled out to cover the deficit of the party budget, this fund perhaps has a foreign-exchange component of some kind. How large is it? Where is it kept? If the CPSU does not have foreign-exchange accounts (with Soviet banks?), as CPSU Central Committee Administrator of Affairs N. Kruchina maintains, why has this organization placed itself in an underprivileged situation compared to other Soviet central departments which acquired such accounts long ago? Is it because it has had open credit at the Bank for Foreign Trade? Perhaps, but this is somehow hard to believe. Why such improvidence? After all, we are in the middle of the sixth year of perestroyka by now....

These are merely the initial questions which are virtually on the surface, but idle questions they are not. The CPSU remains the most powerful political structure, if not political force, in our country. Where this structure is going to marshal its unknown financial wealth is as unclear as the actual magnitude of this wealth.

These questions have yet to be answered. Now let us familiarize ourselves at least with what NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondents have been able to learn so far.

Overview of, Comments on CPSU Budget

914B0302B Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Aug 91 p 5

[Article by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA commentator Yuliy Lebedev in the column "Opinion:" "The CPSU on the Verge of Bankruptcy, This Time a Financial One"]

[Text] The financial and production-economic operations of party organs still remain "a secret under seven seals." Not only the 600-page CPSU budget, but even the budget report is classified. Many memoranda prepared by the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs are classified "Secret" or "For Official Use Only."

This year, some statistics were released officially for the first time: The cost of the fixed assets of "party organs and party publishing houses" comes to 5.2 billion rubles [R]. Local party organs administer 5,254 office buildings and 3,583 newspapers. The CPSU owns 23 sanatoriums and boarding hotels.

However, detailed statistics on the party budget have never been published.

The existence of a special foreign-exchange account remains perhaps one of the main secrets of the budget. So far, CPSU Central Committee Administrator of Affairs Nikolay Kruchina has categorically denied that the party has such an account. However, it is going to be difficult to dispute this now. At any rate, the 1991 budget calls for the payment of membership dues by Communists working abroad in foreign exchange to the party cash stocks. Incidentally, in 1991 the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs urgently collected "a debt" in the amount of 3.2 million foreign-exchange rubles from the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

We publish below the abbreviated text of a report on the implementation of the 1990 CPSU budget and the CPSU budget for 1991 adopted by the July plenum, as well as excerpts from a memorandum and Regulations on Financial, Production, and Economic Operations of Party Organizations. The memorandum was prepared by the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs.

In the last year, the CPSU has stepped up its production and economic operations considerably. There are many reasons for this, but perhaps an attempt to survive is the main reason after all, rather than striving to profiteer. In 1990, the deficit of the party budget actually amounted to R209.2697 million, whereas this year the planned deficit alone (of course, the actual deficit will be greater) should come to R1.1 billion. Funds will have to be drawn again from the reserve fund of the party in order to cover the deficit. At present, this fund amounts to R5 billion. However, if events develop at this rate, the CPSU may go financially bankrupt in a couple of years.

Party membership dues, withholdings from the profits of party publishing houses, and "other proceeds" (which consist mainly of proceeds from production and economic operations) are the three sources and the three integral components of the Communist budget.

The situation with the first source could not be any worse. Since the 28th CPSU Congress resolved to reduce party membership dues from 3 percent to two percent, and gave local party organizations the right to retain up to 50 percent of the funds taken in, the planned reduction of proceeds in this rubric alone amounts to R350 million in 1991 (compared to 1990). Besides, apart from objective reasons, there are subjective reasons as well: Many Communists are in no hurry to pay party membership dues, thus displaying their free-thinking or a lack of funds.

Speaking at a press conference in February 1991, the CPSU Central Committee administrator of affairs ventured an optimistic statement to the effect that he expected large returns from the second source for replenishing the budget—profits extracted from the printing facilities of the party. Members of the Central Committee Secretariat, who in January of this year instructed party committees to operate their newspapers without subsidies by 1992, were no less optimistic. However, the situation in this sphere has become absolutely catastrophic. Under the Law on Enterprises adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, party publishing houses had to begin transferring to the state 35 percent of their profits effective 1 January. In addition, prices for newsprint shot up abruptly. Deputy Chief of the Department of Party Publishing Houses Petr Andreyanov told a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent: "When we discussed the budget in January we proceeded from the fact that in August a ton of newsprint cost between R200 and R250. We expected that it would soon cost about R600. However, the price soared to between R1,200 and R1,300 per ton! You have to pay R850 per ton even for state requisitions."

As a result, R200 million had to be allocated for the party press from the reserve fund, and planned profits from the operation of the party publishing houses dropped by a factor of four this year compared to 1990.

Only the third source of profits—production and economic operations—did not fail the CPSU. In 1990, the plan was overfulfilled in this area by 69.9 percent. This made party leaders so happy that they raised the plan for 1991 by a factor of 4.5. Profits from production and economic operations will account for a respectable 14 percent this year, whereas last year they did not even come to 6 percent. It appears that the party leadership determined that in the future it may count on incremental profits only in this rubric, and resolved to take appropriate measures.

Early this year, after the adoption of the law on public associations by the USSR Supreme Soviet which granted the party committees the rights of juridical persons the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs prepared and distributed special documents calling upon the party organizations to vigorously engage in production and economic operations and explaining how to do it best.

All advantages of such operations were outlined intelligibly in these documents so that the first secretaries would not be confused by complex commercial issues. It was also explained how a small enterprise differs from a joint enterprise, and how the latter differs from an association or a concern.

However, many party committees began engaging in commercial operations long ago. Thus, the buildings of the hotel of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences rented to foreigners give the party regular profits of 50,000 foreign-exchange rubles.

The documents distributed by the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs mention the need for charitable activities which may generate good publicity. However, it appears that some snags have already developed in this field.

A staff employee of the administration who wished to remain anonymous told a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent: "It was announced at the 28th CPSU Congress that the party would donate R500,000 to children who are victims of Chernobyl. Recently, I decided to find out how the money was spent. I wanted to generate good publicity for the party. It turned out that all funds were transferred to the accounts of 12 oblast committees (located in the disaster zone), and there was no trace of them from there on."

However, it appears that it would be improper to attribute such cases to the "natural insidiousness" of Communists. A member of the party leadership observed in a conversation with a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent: "It is just that party committees cannot do anything; they cannot do ideological work, to say nothing of production and economic work. Money, and a lot of it, is invested in unprepared projects and enterprises operating at a loss. We will soon fall into the financial abyss, and we will not get out of it soon."

CPSU Economic Manuals Excerpted

914B0302D Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Aug 91 p 5

[Excerpts from "Model Regulations on Financial, Production, and Other Economic Operations of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union Republics, Republic Party Committees, Kray Party Committees, Oblast Committees of the Party, and Enterprises and Organizations Set Up by Them," and a "Memorandum by the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs"]

[Text] **The Assets of Enterprises Set Up by Party Committees Are CPSU Property**

From "Model Regulations on Financial, Production, and Other Economic Operations of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union Republics, Republic Party Committees, Kray Party Committees, Oblast Committees of the Party, and Enterprises and Organizations Set Up by Them:"

1.1. The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union republics, republic party committees, kray committees, or oblast committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (committees) are organs of a self-governing sociopolitical organization of Communists; they perform functions envisaged by the CPSU Program and Statute, and operate on the basis of the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws.

1.2. The committees enjoy economic independence and the rights of juridical persons....

1.3. With a view to performing their statutory tasks, the committees set up structural subdivisions according to the sectors of their operations, as well as enterprises and economically accountable organizations enjoying the rights of juridical persons.

The enterprises and economically accountable organizations set up by the committees operate on the basis of statutes and regulations adopted by the committees or their organs, own separate assets, have independent balance sheets and current accounts, may join associations of producers, joint-stock companies and charitable societies and organizations, joint enterprises, and international public (nongovernmental) associations, maintain direct international contacts, sign contracts and agreements in the course of resolving production, economic, and financial issues, acquire rights to assets and other rights, incur obligations, and appear as plaintiffs or defendants in courts, arbitration bodies, and courts of referees, as well as engage in other actions in keeping with their objectives and tasks....

3.1. The assets of the committees, their structural units, and enterprises are the property of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; they are inviolable, and are protected by the law....

3.3. The assets of the committees are accumulated on the basis of financial resources drawn from the collection of party membership dues, publishing, production, economic and other operations, and the assets of their structural subdivisions and enterprises commensurate with the shares of the committees in them....

4.3. The committees are entitled to select on their own banks needed to perform credit and settlement operations....

4.5. The first secretaries of committees are their administrators of loans within the framework of the party budget....

Commercial Secrets: Participate in Economic Operation Indirectly; Emphasize Hotels, Resorts, Charitable Foundations, and Joint Enterprises

From a Memorandum by the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs:

...Party committees manage on a current basis (own, use, and administer) the assets of party organizations which constitute the object of CPSU property as the wealth of the entire party. However, taking into account the sociopolitical situation in the country, at present we would consider it inexpedient to entrust the party committees as political organs with engaging directly in commercial or other economic operations associated with the generation of profits.

With a view to maintaining a material basis for the operation of the party, it is necessary to take advantage in every way possible of opportunities to set up enterprises and economically accountable organizations enjoying the rights of juridical persons, as provided by the law; proceeds from these enterprises and organizations should be channeled to replenish the CPSU budget in order to offset a substantial decline in proceeds from party membership dues and publishing operations, as well as an increase in expenditures for leasing and maintaining premises, means of transportation, communications equipment, and other assets in the environment of a market economy....

The main lines and forms of production and other operations, and of the enterprises created should be selected after a careful legal and economic analysis of the issues of organization and a profound study of emerging and predicted demand for the products manufactured and services rendered, with local conditions taken into account....

In view of limited material and technical resources and the need to ensure the prompt recoupment of outlays, it is expedient to emphasize the creation of small enterprises.... Priority lines of their operation include, in particular, developing household and consumer services for the populace (for example, hotels, transportation, and other enterprises) and accelerating the development of new types of equipment and technology and solutions to ecological problems (in small-size scientific design bureaus)....

With a view to amassing funds and material-technical potential and to improving the effectiveness of economic operations, joint enterprises may be set up in the form of joint-stock and economic companies and associations based on pooling the assets of their founders, which enjoy the rights of juridical persons. In the process, foreign juridical persons and citizens may be among the founders. This is particularly necessary in the process of solving problems associated with perfecting the means of production in the environment of scientific-technical progress, rendering various services, including the development of consumer services in hotels, dacha pools, sanatoriums and resorts, and other facilities with curative and cultural-educational functions, to which end foreign capital is tapped....

Pursuant to Article 17 of the USSR Law on Public Associations, the latter are authorized to use their funds for charitable purposes. This is why it is extremely important for party committees to participate vigorously in the activities of various charitable foundations, associations, centers, and agencies....

Economic operations by party committees associated with the use of assets administered by them for purposes which are not banned by the law do not run counter to statutory tasks. In particular, pursuant to Article 4 of the Basic Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on Leasing, the enterprises and organizations of the committees may act as lessors of buildings, structures, equipment, transportation vehicles, implements, and other tangible valuables managed by them on a current basis....

Taking into account the fact that the recommendations contain elements of commercial secrets protected under the law (Article 33 of the USSR Law on Enterprises in the USSR), the present letter is being distributed for strictly official purposes.

Aspects of Draft New CPSU Program Viewed

914B0300A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article by V. Tishkov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ethnology and Anthropology Institute and member of the Commission for Preparation of the CPSU Program: "Between the Past... and the Future?"]

[Text] At 1100 on 5 August in the Marble Hall, which is next to the office of the general secretary in the building in Staraya Square, members of the Program Commission received the final version of the draft CPSU Program. It contained one page more of text than the document discussed 10 days ago at the Central Committee plenum, but a good third of the lines underscored therein signified a new version even since the discussion held in the Kremlin. Following a three-hour meeting, which was anchored by A. Dzasokhov and I. Frolov, the document was approved for publication and has appeared today in PRAVDA. What will be said in the four months remaining until the 29th CPSU Congress? In what form will the draft reach the highest party assembly? Will it become the program?

The almost year-long stage of development of the draft, full of dramatic aspects and instructive lessons, which is now concluded, merits analysts' serious attention.

Program or Treatise?

The first versions of the draft on the order of 100, 70, and then 40 pages suffered, aside from prolixity, from that same fundamental weakness as past programs of the party in power. That same claim to the sole correct, "scientific" world vision and the political party's messianic destiny to lead Soviet society, sign posting to it the right path, and the path to all mankind at the same time. And on this occasion also an attempt had been made to compile a philosophical treatise with a fair share of rhetoric and an unconcealed polemic with political opponents. The philosophical and methodological principles of this treatise reflected the views of the part of the Soviet school of social science which, although it retains influential positions in the highest party and academic structures, is in fact on the periphery of modern humanitarian learning and world political thought. And we are talking about names well known in the scientific world, what is more, and people who are undoubtedly highly qualified, not the higher educational institution social scientists who, having lost their students, are today attempting to resuscitate their extra-scientific dogmatics in the party environment.

So for this school society and man are merely the subject for realization of a particular idea and some "historical regularity" primordially embedded in world evolution, and "scientifically substantiated" social engineering is allegedly capable of overcoming both our own (Stalinism, for example) and others' (Western capitalism) deviations by humanity from the norm or ideal seen in "socialism with a communist perspective" and also in the "new world civilization."

Such views and type of thinking cannot constitute the basis of the program of a political party for no serious and experienced political organization would dare and should not occupy the position of a creed with the arrogant purpose of accomplishing global experiments with such a complex and self-organizing system as society and simultaneously assume responsibility for leading history onto some arterial path. History is as it has been, let philosophers and futurologists argue about the future of the world.

A party's business is actual politics. This means that the party program also should primarily be a compilation of principles, proposals, and promises which at a given historical moment might make it possible to attract citizens' sympathies and the support of the electorate securing for the party due political authority and representation in the organs of power for the implementation of this program.

Programs are created and adopted not only to recruit as many supporters of this social theory or the other as possible or to head the list of political education literature but primarily to secure victory at elections and political power for the civically active members of society who wish and are prepared to participate in the running of the state. These axioms are recognized with the greatest difficulty in our country by the Communists who still consider the very expression "struggle for power" abusive and who do not understand that a struggle for power and authority is a most important component of the viability of any society from antiquity through our day.

From this viewpoint the version submitted to the plenum, which even since the last meeting of the commission on 28 June had been halved by a small group of members of the commission under the leadership of V. Ryabov, head of the CPSU Central Committee Humanities Department, could, indeed, be called similar to the program of a political party, not a handsome pamphlet under the motto "if we have to go, let's do it in style!" It was, at least, no worse and in many respects more profound and stronger than the programs of other political parties. It remains a mystery how Academician I. Frolov—leader of a working group and principal proponent of a renewal of Marxism by modern-world-culture approaches—was persuaded to sign in the presence of the commission chairman this abridged version for distribution. There remained in it, after all, barely anything of the arguments about the development of the world, which, strictly speaking, add little to science and leave the ordinary citizen-cum-reader and party member even indifferent.

What was sent out a week prior to the plenum (M. Gorbachev's accompanying note was stamped 15 July 1991) was not distinguished by integrality: the primordial fragmentary character, numerous instances of editing and arranging the text from various pieces were reflected. Words central to the document on the party's priorities in different spheres of public life (the "Our Immediate Goals" section), borrowed from proposals of the Moscow party organization, were incorporated after the 28 June meeting, for example. Thus for the first time, incidentally, there appeared in the document a more or less integral exposition of the CPSU's position on questions of nationality policy, on which in previous versions there had been a confused silence.

But the heart of the matter is not striking literary-journalistic form, although it also is very important for political programs. The essence is that a set of declared goals and specific tasks in two main areas—an improvement in people's social living conditions and the democratization of society—showed through more distinctly in the resultant document. A definition of the party, which frightened some of the speakers at the plenum, as a party of democratic reforms, which could at this stage perfectly well be seen as a version of the party's new name, appeared. The CPSU is understood not as a parliamentary party as yet but, nonetheless, as a sufficiently open organization permitting free membership, internal factions, and external coalitions.

The document essentially takes a step in the direction of contemporary social democratic and socialist ideology and practice, which was said openly enough in M. Gorbachev's report at the plenum. It was with these principles, incidentally, that the CPSU began, until it sank into an orthodoxy of the communist utopia mixed in with the political practice of totalitarianism.

This document finally manifests the difficult recognition of the fact that actual reality in the country has taken shape so that the very name of the party, "Communist," virtually assures it for quite some time to come a place of political opposition, and there is not even this assurance in some republics. For this reason we can only welcome the fact that the draft contains no arguments, ritual and suicidal for the present conditions, concerning communism, except for one sole instance where in a historical digression there is the unhistorical affirmation that this ideal "will live in people's consciousness always." People's aspiration to equality, justice, and happiness should not be presented as belief in the communist ideal. This is not one and the same thing. Neither Christianity nor socialist ideology are strangers to this either. The development and use of the experience of contemporary socialist parties, incidentally, could have been strengthened in the program for good conditions remain in our country for this political doctrine and practice. And very interesting experience, particularly of activity at the "grassroots" level, that is, in the masses, not only at the level of state and other institutions, among socialists, British, French and Scandinavian, for example, has been accumulated in the past two decades. It produces good results, election victories included.

Lament for Theory and Principles

The discussion that took place at the plenum was, on the whole, as was to have been expected, negative in respect to the draft, despite the curtsies made to it and the speakers' meek final wording of the "accept as a basis following serious modification" or even "reworking" type. Had it not been for the edict the day before of the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic on de-party-ization, which scared the party functionaries, had the organizers of the meeting permitted the presentation for discussion of the Marxist Platform's version, and had M. Gorbachev not issued a stern warning to the neo-Bolshevik fundamentalists constituting, in his estimation, a "negligible minority" in the party (but in the opinion of A. Sergeyev and the supporters of the Marxist Platform, 3.5 million), the drama of the plenum could have taken shape differently.

On the eve of the plenum even, on 24 July, the meetings of various CPSU Central Committee commissions which were held signaled total rejection of the proposed draft. Of the more than 10 speakers in the Interethnic Relations and Nationality Policy Commission, only two supported the document. As far as the debate of 25 and 26 July is concerned, of one thing there is no doubt—criticism of the draft came only from orthodox standpoints—not a single criticism from the left proposing the adoption of an even more reformist version of the program. Even the few speeches containing open support for the document were greeted with the unconcealed disapprobation of the hall, and on the balcony, by the improper noise of the "Lampasniks" (as an employee of the CPSU Central Committee administrative system who had attended a meeting of the generals was called). Protective views and positions, which had over many years become habitual, were, on the other hand, received with approval. Particularly the caustic evaluations of the document under discussion: "an emasculated, omnivorous document providing for the disintegration of the party," "three steps backward compared with the program statement of the 28th congress," "stages of treachery," and so forth. M. Gorbachev was absolutely accurate in saying in his closing remarks that "each strong polemical thought immediately set off our entire assembly."

Three factors, in my view, were reflected here: There are now virtually no representatives among the directive personnel of the CPSU of the radical-left political school, the protective syndrome and conservative sentiments in the central body of the party are now dominant and the composition of the program commission, including its chairman and the Moscow party and academic officials who formulated the wording of the draft, which was elected by the congress, proved to be the present limit of leftishness and reform aspirations of which the CPSU is capable, not counting the attempts of the party members who are today seeking alternatives outside of its directive structures.

But what fact struck me, a social scientist attending such a gathering for the first time, most? During the discussion of the draft program of a political party in, together with society, a profound crisis, it was not so much a question of how to restore the citizens' confidence and the political power which is being lost and of how to expiate the party's historical guilt before the people by a policy which brings them blessings. It was a question of a social theory, of a teaching! It was discussed passionately and proudly by almost all those who mounted the rostrum: a stone mason from Poltava, a military officer from the Glavpur, a higher educational institution professor and a party official.

I have not, probably, encountered such an obsession with the "theoretical base" and "scientific foresight" of social processes at even one most authoritative scientific forum. The more so in that for contemporary social scientists this theory or the other (the "teaching" concept is altogether absent from scientific vocabulary) is merely a collection of general understandings shared by its supporters and condemned to inevitable replacement as science develops.

The post-modernist world vision, incidentally, fructified also by the ideas of our contemporaries, M. Bakhtin particularly, has disclosed an intricate relationship of the world of words and the world of things, the tremendous influence in societies of general literacy of the myth-making constructions of intellectuals and the realization via word and myths, scientific included, of power and political mobilization. It is a long time since theory and science have been regarded merely as a reflection of practice and means of foresight: Our social practice is in many respects the result of our theory, and a claim to possession of the truth, essentially a claim to power.

And if we proceed from this understanding of the entire complexity of the dialogue between the world of ideas and the world of realities, between the texts compiled by scientists and politicians and the sphere of distribution of resources and power in society, we cannot help, evidently, but comprehend the meaning of the general lament for theory staged in the Kremlin.

Take a listen to the vocabulary of the complaints and demands of the speakers: "There needs to be a clear statement of communist principles," "There is insufficient theory in this draft" (L. Khitrun); "I propose that it be recorded that communism is our goal... communism is a science and teaching recognized by the whole world" (V. Chuykov); "Until recently we relied on the fundamental teaching of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, but what kind of teaching is at the basis of the draft program?" (D. Abdullayev); and so forth.

Life Not According to a Plan

What lies behind these and many similar incantations heard at the plenum? First, the commonplace absolutization of scientific knowledge readily supported by many Soviet scientists. Although the latter have, incidentally, by their direct involvement in the political process actually intellectualized the structure of power, they have not made it more effective for politics and science are sufficiently different spheres, and there should be a distance between them. Otherwise a scientist quickly becomes in the eyes of a society the author of civil disorders (posters are already being carried around Moscow's squares demanding that some of our academicians be put on trial).

But this is, let us assume, not that serious an error: The scientists themselves, who have for the first time in our country encountered a new sphere of social life—politics—and who have not yet formulated a code of behavior in respect thereof, are susceptible to it also. Far less innocuous are the precepts to the effect that the party should have a theoretical base and that only thereon may its program be constructed and that this program should, in turn, contain precise wording and evaluations and should, in the words of A. Dzasokhov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "prescribe more precisely" the kind of society we live in, what the party's prospects and social base are and so forth. It is perfectly natural that these "prescriptions" should be made on the basis of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, for an oath of loyalty to which V. Gidaspov and many other speakers at the plenum called.

And this is a question of considerable importance. Why should the basis of the program and activity of some political party or the other be some one theory officially formalized in program fashion, and loyalty in respect to it be the criterion of party membership? Conservatives, republicans, liberals, socialists, Christian democrats and other influential political groupings in the world do, indeed, have certain most general doctrinal principles and values, but I somehow do not recall these parties officially formalizing their "theoretical bases" in program fashion. Although there are scientific works on conservatism, liberalism, Christian socialism and other political teachings, these are entirely different things. And is it not an anachronism demanding loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and once again organizing compulsory registration in accordance with this methodology for Soviet social scientists, those who are members of the CPSU, at least?

The calls for a "renewal of Marxism" and the assertion that "historical materialism has fully justified itself because capitalism has moved toward socialism" and that "the objective course of history is compelling capitalism to take the path of Marx" appeared naive, in my view (although they were greeted by applause). Today's societal knowledge has left this neo-Marxist rhetoric in the past. And not only because of the tragic outcome of the social experiments based thereon. But also because the world has become fundamentally different. Unforeseen consequences of human activity, self-organizing human creativity, communities' search for rational answers to daily challenges and problems—this is what determines human evolution, not "objective historical regularities."

As far as the assertion that "communism is the result of society's natural-historical development" is concerned, however, there are on this score more than sufficient authoritative studies showing that man and society remain a part of nature, in which the laws of hierarchy and competition constitute the basis of social life, and the equality and freedom of each and everyone together is social death. The communist idea, like the Christian idea also, performs the role of therapy and spiritual compensation for these inevitable discords. And, consequently, realizing the communist idea is in principle impossible. The Christian Democrats are not attempting to build the kingdom of heaven on earth. So why are the Communists so insistent in their desire to implement their ideal?

There are purely anthropological explanations for the lament for theory, more precisely, for that odd mixture of social theory, religious belief, and political doctrine. For decades the "priests of the Marxist parish" would go to their flock and via the doctrinal word (no less than via punitive force) realize their power. From the words of party officials and propagandists party members and nonparty persons learned by heart those same "prescriptions" concerning the system wherein they lived, the stage of building which the "country is going through" and plans for the future.

"We went to the shepherds and explained to them, and they believed us, but what should we say now?" an old party official voiced his dissatisfaction with the draft document when a meeting of the Nationality Policy Commission was being held, on the eve of the plenum. Truly, the power of many party members in the country was supported not by the fact that they knew how best to graze the sheep or erect a yurt. But only they, on the other hand, knew that main "truth" about the common principles of being which was inaccessible to the ordinary mortal. Only for them was it vitally important to know in the past and now "the kind of society we have built and the kind of social and economic formation we have and in which direction we are switching." Otherwise they had nothing to take to the next lecture or meeting.

And how can the Norwegians, French, Brazilians, Hindus and the majority of human societies generally live in ignorance of all this and even without asking such questions? Is it not time to wonder why among the Communists there is so frenzied a devotion of theory to principles. After all, a change therein is a perfectly normal trait for science and the scientist, as, equally, for politics and politicians.

The last speaker in the debate and the youngest, evidently, attempted to impress upon the weary audience the exceptionally intelligent thoughts: "For the new party program the main criterion should be not its fidelity to a teaching and historical continuity but competitiveness with the programs of other parties and the support of the people." M. Gorbachev spoke in the same spirit in his closing remarks, observing that "the program should not be a collection of incantations" and that there are such higher concepts as "land, people, fatherland, state."

Alternatives Are Possible

The published draft will give rise to more than just party-wide discussion. We may expect not only a sea of words but also a political battle with the perfectly possible defeat of the developers of the program at the congress, if, even more, its composition is formed by the administrative system path. The main and, possibly, the sole critics of the draft remain neo-Bolsheviks of various persuasions, who even in the version edited "with regard for the criticisms" are not discovering major concessions in their favor. A. Kryuchkov, cochairman of the Marxist Platform in the CPSU, declared at the 5 August meeting that "this is not the commission's draft" and that alternative versions had not been considered. Military Communists are searching for their version of the section on party policy in the defense sphere, which was sent in under the signatures of three top persons of the USSR Defense Ministry and disappeared in the commission. At this same meeting the Leningrad professor M. Popov distributed his document "Reviving, Not Burying, the Communist Party."

It is clear that some central publications will shortly be reprinting alternative drafts from house organs and oblast newspapers. "Consistent Marxists," who have hitherto within the framework of the commission and at the plenum meanwhile fought for the wording of the last congress concerning "humane socialism with a communist perspective," will consolidate around them. This "perspective" has once again, unfortunately, appeared in the latest version as the result of a concession in the name of unity and concord.

But what about abandoning the hope of preserving unity, which is increasingly degenerating into the communists' self-destruction on the pile of accumulated property, and affording an opportunity for a parting of the ways? Some would not retreat and permit a distortion of the new action program, which is experiencing a difficult birth, others would rally the supporters of the old prescriptions for learning by heart. There is the hope that the party congress at the end of the year, and the party members and the people, tired of perspectives, even more, will prefer those who, for all that, finally decide to "forgo principles."

Presidential Adviser Marshal Akhromeyev Profiled

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[Article by Dmitriy Kazutin: "The President's Military Adviser"]

[Text] It is still an enigma to me why President Mikhail Gorbachev picked Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev as his adviser on military matters. In mid-December 1989 the newspaper "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" suddenly reported that Akhromeyev had resigned from the post of Chief of General Staff. A month later in an interview with "Moscow News" the marshal explained that the duties of Chief of General Staff demanded 14-15 hours of work daily. "And I am 66 years old," Akhromeyev lamented. "I'm not only my age, I fought through the war, was wounded several times and shell-shocked. I submitted a request asking to be relieved of my post. The request was granted. So I was given another job in a position of responsibility. I am deeply grateful for being trusted. I shall do my best working for the benefit of the cause."

Leaving the top rank of the army did not put an end to the career of this peasant boy from the village of Vindrey, Mordovia. Conversely, thanks to his parliamentary speeches and numerous interviews and articles in newspapers and magazines, he became better known to the public at large than ever before. How was that? Was it fate's blind benevolence or the exceptional talents of the boy from Mordovia?

In general Mordovia owes its fame to great names like poet Nikolay Ogarev, a colleague and friend of Herzen's, Admiral Fedor Ushakov, one of the founding fathers of the Black Sea Fleet, the outstanding historian Vasiliy Klyuchevskiy or sculptor Stepan Erzya, known as the "Russian Rodin". And now Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev....

Not every cadet of the M.V. Frunze Higher Naval School who received a baptism of fire in July 1941 near Leningrad became a marshal—but Akhromeyev did. Not every officer who saw the end of the war in the post of battalion commander became Chief of General Staff—but Akhromeyev did. Perhaps the most mysterious part of Sergey Akhromeyev's military career is that he was awarded the rank of marshal in 1983, being First Deputy Chief of General Staff. This is a post usually not held by a marshal, and the history of the Soviet General Staff knows of no other such instance.

But what was it in Marshal Akhromeyev that attracted President Gorbachev? I shall try to give an outline. Not a portrait, of course—a sketch for Sergey Akhromeyev's portrait.

Strategist

We know from Marshal Akhromeyev that one of the main tasks of a military adviser to the USSR President is preparing recommendations on problems linked to the formulation of military doctrine and military reform is ambiguous: [as published] "I am deeply convinced that our state cannot have a purely professional army where everyone serves on a contract, primary for geopolitical and economic reasons."

As far as economic reasons are concerned, this question was posed some two weeks before Akhromeyev's birth at the 12th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik). And it was raised not by a "democrat" or "interregional", but by a member of the government—Leonid Krasin, People's commissar for Foreign Trade. Saying that we needed not a numerous, but well-trained (read: professional) and well-armed army, Krasin proceeded precisely from the country's then existing economic capabilities and the specifics of the NEP [New Economic Policy] (read: market) economy.

Among the numerous, often contradictory, utterances by the military adviser to the Soviet President dealing with army reform—or rather: the lack of need for such a reform—one was of particular note. Answering a question about the president's attitude to military matters, the marshal said the following: "He understands that an organism such as the Armed Forces is pivotal in the state system. In recent years the president has seen plenty of evidence that the highest bodies of state authority can really rely on our Armed Forces."

Marshal Akhromeyev, a member of the CPSU Central Committee, understood this organic connection between the party and the army a long time ago. When hard times set in for the party, he did not hesitate to rise up in defence. "For me," the marshal recently admitted, "besides the beginning of the war in 1941 and Chernobyl, the most difficult time was in 1988 when the CPSU was attacked from every direction."

November 12, 1989, became a "political Stalingrad" for the marshal. On that day the USSR Supreme Soviet had to decide whether or not to include the item on repealing Article 6 of the Constitution (on the party's leading role in society) in the agenda of the 2nd Congress of People's Deputies. Deputy Akhromeyev voted against.

Now that ours is a multiparty society, Akhromeyev says, the army has no right to interfere in interparty disputes. He reassures us that the army has understood and assimilated this. "But," he warns, "The Armed Forces stand up for the values formalized by our constitution." The socialist choice holds pride of place for the marshal among these values. "Whatever happens," he says of the army, "We need to preserve this force which goes a long way to ensure our stability and prevents separatists and extremists from holding sway."

Earlier this year the marshal published a kind of manifesto which contained the following: "Now it has become clear why Boris Yeltsin and his team have taken such a persistent stand against the generals and admirals for the past three years." If, according to the marshal, it became possible to "discredit the generals in the people's eyes" and remove them from army leadership, it would be easier for Yeltsin "to topple our country's supreme bodies of authority and reach his long-term objectives by way of mass rallies, boycotts and strikes".

Thus the army is opposed to mass rallies, strikes and boycotts. I saw with my own eyes how the army was placed on standby alert in connection with a mass rally in Moscow on March 28. Wasn't this measure—suicidal for Mikhail Gorbachev's ratings—undertaken on the recommendation of the President's military adviser?

Historian

In this country history is quite often written by military people. And that's not a metaphor: there is a fundamental ten-volume edition entitled The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People. Work on it can well be compared—in the number of participants and the organization of the project—with a large-scale military operation under Minister of Defense Dmitriy Yazov, who chairs the Main Editorial Commission.

Such is the irony of fate, but the outset of this unparalleled military-historical operation is in some ways reminiscent of the bitter summer of 1941. The history of the war, like the war itself, begins with a retreat. The 1,911-page manuscript of the first volume was rejected by military command. The culprit—as was the case in 1941—was Colonel-General Volkogonov. He was charged with treason and dismissed from his job, the only difference being that he was not court martialled....

The reason for the retreat was formulated by the minister: "The democrats," he said, "have now set the aim of preparing and staging a Nuremburg-II trial of the CPSU. The volume contains the concept of the bill of indictment of that trial."

As in a real war, critical situation often brings to the fore new people capable of radically changing the situation for the better. Neither in his military career nor in his post military education (a graduate of the Armoured Forces Academy and then the General Staff Academy) did Sergey Akhromeyev ever have anything to do with historical science. Although, so they say, he was fond of history at school. That is evidently the reason why he took command and stabilized the situation when Volume One was being routed. The appraisal of his actions given—it is hard to believe this—not by a general, but by a research-fellow of the Institute of Oriental Studies, M. Kapitsa, looks very much like a citation for an award or a higher military rank: "Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev presented a comprehensive programme for finishing these chapters. We believe that it could well become the basis for subsequent work...."

The Marshal's 'Philosophy of History'

In the 1920s-1930s, according to Akhromeyev, two trends were at loggerheads in our society. One was constructive, represented by people like Pavel Korchagin, the hero of Nikolay Ostrovskiy's novel How the Steel was Tempered. "They," the marshal-historian claims, "saw how Stalin was distorting socialism. As much as was possible, honest Communists fought these distortions." The other trend was Stalinism. Its substance, according to Akhromeyev, was that "Stalin and his stooges created a powerful repressive apparatus" and "coercion began prevailing in class interrelations and other social strata". Marshal Akhromeyev maintains that "the striving to show that it is the second trend (Stalinism) that was dominant" distorts the historical truth.

The Man

Let us leave politics aside and get down to everyday issues. On April 3 Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov personally signed an order after a check of the ministry's dachas (summer cottages). The order stated that "there were overstatements in the construction costs" of dachas for leading army personnel. It was also necessary to state that the "expenditure for the maintenance of dachas for top USSR Ministry of Defence personnel, exceeding the rates set by the government of the USSR, was made with regard to USSR Ministry of Defence resources, rather than the tenants' personal funds". The tenants included the incumbent military adviser to the USSR president.

The marshal does not make a very clear distinction between defence spending and his own. On August 17, 1990, a TU-134 aircraft made a flight on the Moscow-Nikolayev-Sochi-Moscow route for the sole purpose of taking Akhromeyev from Nikolayev to Sochi. Possibly for this reason the marshal never answered a question put to him by Academician Georgiy Arbatov, people's deputy of the USSR: "Is it true that our Air Force burns three times more fuel than Aeroflot?"

Recently Central TV showed a film about Sergey Akhromeyev (script: Aleksandr Uzkhov, director: Vasiliy Antipov, cameraman: Audrey Kuznetsov). In his two-storeyed country mansion the marshal protested to TV journalists about his poor living conditions. Pointing at his marshal's uniform lying on a chair, he complained in injured tones: "you see, I haven't anywhere to hang it."

Despite his soldierly straightforwardness and ostensible frankness, Sergey Akhromeyev is inclined to prevaricate. To prove the existence of military danger from the USA, for example, the marshal often refers to one of the tenets of President Bush's message to American legislators last year entitled National Security Strategy. This "official document:, (actually approved) by Congress..." It is true, Akhromeyev admits, that after this came Paris, and both the USA and the USSR signed three important documents officially declaring that we no longer consider each other enemies, "but National Security Strategy also remains in force".

On a cursory reading one may fail to notice that the marshal has misrepresented the facts. Indeed, if a document "has been acknowledged:, it is perhaps possible to say that it has been "actually approved". However, the marshal himself is only too well aware of the difference between "acknowledge" and "approve". During the stormy debates at the USSR Supreme Soviet on the results produced by the parliamentary commission looking into the activities of Gdlyan's group of investigators, two formulations of the resolution were put to the vote by roll-call—one saying: "acknowledge the commission's findings", the other: "accept the commission's main conclusions". In the first case deputy Akhromeyev voted against the proposition, in the second in favour.

Denying the importance of personality for a career serviceman, Akhromeyev takes exception to those wishing to probe his biography. But he did not reveal that his father was reported missing in 1929, being of a well-to-do family. And he added right away that, front his point of view, collectivization and the dispossession of the kulaks (rich peasants) were historically indispensable.

A Veteran at His Post

Akhromeyev once wrote a short psychological essay dedicated to the country's past leaders. Stalin, as conceived by the marshal, understood only strength both in personal relations and in relations between states. The situation was different with Khrushchev and Brezhnev. Especially with Khrushchev. "On the face of it,: the marshal reasons, "he was individually responsible for the 'thaw', and for that he was removed. But he is also the son of his time. The leaders who experienced the capitalist encirclement of the 1920s-1930s and then passed through the Great Patriotic War, especially people like Khrushchev and Brezhnev who held solid positions at the time, had a firmly established attitude towards foreign policy.... Having gone through those ordeals, they could never trust the West...." The mentality of younger leaders, among whom Akhromeyev includes himself, was not so immutable, and this enabled them to reconsider things.

At this point Marshal Akhromeyev prevaricates again. The rethink his contemporary Georgiy Arbatov, also a front-line soldiers, underwent is one thing. But Akhromeyev's rethink is entirely different. This is not reconsideration, but rather an adaptation to changed circumstances. Even today Akhromeyev remains "true to the army:, that is to the corporate egoism of the military caste whose destiny remains his own. This egoism has prompted his views on military reform, his "philosophy of history: and his "political science:, permitting the army to defend obsolete dogmas and immutable stereotypes against the citizens of his own country. If Sergey Akhromeyev were a private individual his views would be his own affair. But he is an adviser to the USSR President. And who knows what, for example, Sergey Akhromeyev advised Mikhail Gorbachev to do at the moment when the chiefs of three militarist departments—Yazov, Kryuchkov and Pugo—virtually supported Premier Valentin Pavlov's demands for the "redistribution of emergency powers"? The future may divulge this "military secret", but do we really want to put the future at stake?

Cabinet Adopts Petroleum Delivery Proposal

LD1408144791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] To guarantee steady deliveries of crude petroleum and petroleum products to the all-Union market and to reduce the petroleum and gas industry enterprises' dependency on the import of equipment and materials, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers adopted a Ministry of the Petroleum and Gas Industry proposal, supported by the Ministries of Economics and Resources. It is a question of implementing a series of measures to strengthen the material and technical base of the industry's enterprises and to use it more efficiently. These measures will make it possible to reduce by at least threefold next year the demand for currency resources for the industry's development.

TASS Reviews 15 Aug Soviet Central Press

LD1508072391 Moscow TASS in English 0658 GMT 15 Aug 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 15 TASS—The press highlights today the treaty on the union of sovereign states. PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publish the text of the Union treaty consisting of a preamble and four parts. "The states forming the Union shall reserve for themselves the right to the independent solution of all problems connected with their development, along with guaranteeing equal rights and opportunities of socio-economic and cultural development for all nations living on their territory," the first part says. "The states integrated in the Union regard the priority of human rights as the key principle, in accordance with the U.N. universal declaration of human rights and other generally recognised standards of international law. All citizens shall be guaranteed a possibility to study and use their native language, a free access to information, freedom of creed, as well as other political, socio- economic and individual rights and freedoms".

The second part deals with the membership in the Union and relations between the republics and determines the spheres of federal and federal-republican authority. The third part deals with the status of supreme legislative, executive and judicial authorities of the Union. "The present treaty shall be approved by the supreme authorities of the states forming the Union and shall come into force immediately after its signing by their official delegations," the final provisions of the treaty says.

PRAVDA frontpages a congratulatory message of President Gorbachev to Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman and Prime Minister Narasimha Rao on the occasion of India's national holiday—the 44th anniversary of its independence.

PRAVDA writes that the Soviet Cabinet of Ministers has accepted the proposals of the Soviet Ministry of the Oil and Gas Industry on implementing a package of measures, aimed at strengthening the material and technical basis of the industry, improving the effectiveness of the use of equipment and permitting to reduce by about three times in 1992 the demand in hard currency for the development of the oil and gas industry. The purpose of this action is to ensure stable deliveries of crude oil and oil products to the domestic market and reduce the dependence of oil and gas industry enterprises on the import of equipment and materials.

PRAVDA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA report the end of the meeting of presidents of four Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan in Tashkent on August 14 and the signing of documents, the most important of which is the agreement on creating an inter-republican consultative council of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan. The newspapers point out that Azerbaijan also joined the agreement. Its prime minister attended the Tashkent meeting.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports the beginning of the work in Moscow of the 10th convention for European nuclear disarmament. Some 1,000 representatives of independent anti-war, human rights, ecological and humanitarian organisations from 45 countries came to attend it. From the Soviet side, about 50 public organisations and movements are taking part in the convention. The newspaper carries an article by Colonel Dolgov on the main directions of the SDI today. "SDI is the way to new types of weapons based on the use of the latest scientific and technological finds. This is fraught, however, with a new costly and destructive stage of the arms race," the article says.

A military exercise for defending the Leningrad nuclear power plant was held by the Leningrad department of the Interior Ministry troops jointly with the troops of the Batlic fleet and the State Security Committee, PRAVDA reports. The troops were training actions to be taken in case of acts of sabotage or other emergency situations.

PRAVDA carries an interview with B. Gutin, head of the department for combatting smuggling and the violation of customs regulations at the Soviet Customs Committee, which is entitled "How Topical Is Smuggling Problem for Soviet Economy?" Gutin attended the Brussels session of the customs cooperation council. The newspaper also publishes an article by A. Chernenko, head of the public relations centre of the Soviet Interior Ministry. He comments on the dissatisfaction of the Lithuanian Government commission with the investigation carried out by the federal law enforcement agencies. "The statement is just a declaration not supported by facts. It is an example of a political action directed against the professional contact that formed in Lithuania between all representatives of law enforcement authorities," Chernenko stressed.

The public relations centre of the USSR State Security Committee has refuted as groundless the statements of some mass media organs about the obstacles created for delegates to the Russian Federation Congress of Compatriots coming to the USSR, allegedly through the fault of the State Security Committee.

"The realisation of changes in the natural environment and their global character became the subject of international cooperation and scientific projects for warding off this threat," Professor Zakharov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Hydrometeorological Committee, writes in PRAVDA in connection with the launching of a Soviet satellite with American scientific instruments on board off the Plesetsk space-launch complex, which is scheduled for today. "The Soviet-American project METEOR-3-TOMS is one of such projects. Its implementation will make it possible to monitor and study changes in the ozone layer of the atmosphere on a global scope."

The press continues to publish comments by communists and non- party members on the departisation decree of the Russian president, which are coming from provinces. Newspapers write about the tense situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

International sections of newspaper cover mostly the developments in Yugoslavia, the Middle East and the Korean peninsula.

Economic

Government Supports Creation of Exchanges

914A1059A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by M. Berger: "We Will Welcome Trade Houses and Exchanges: The Government Is Being More Active in Supporting Exchange Structures"]

[Text] **First Vice-Premier V. Shcherbakov has met with representatives of the exchange structures to discuss the state of affairs in and prospects for development of this sphere, and also to work on questions relating to cooperation between the exchanges and government bodies.**

According to the latest figures, 370 exchanges have been registered on the territory of the Soviet Union. This gives grounds for asserting that our country has moved to first place in the world in terms of the number of exchanges per capita, while preserving one of the leading, if not the leading place in terms of the per capita number of commodity units. The growth trend in exchange turnover is so noticeable and steady and, despite the many nuances and complexities, the process has so many market attributes that the government has decided to activate its own activity in this regard. Last Saturday the Union Cabinet of Ministers took the quite bold decision of transforming the Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy into an exchange center. The center will probably be a joint-stock company.

This decision testifies as a minimum to two extremely important things. The authorities are taking the exchanges and everything associated with them more seriously, and are prepared to cooperate seriously and in a more specific way (which is a very rare thing). And second, the government is moving toward de-state-ization of large property holdings, and this means that there is hope that privatization will not be limited only to stalls and small workshops.

Those still not too distant times when the party organs set the schedules and principles for moving commodity distribution into the wholesale market are now gone, never to return. The State Committee for Material-Technical Supply has ceased to exist, while wholesale trade, even though it never did learn to subordinate itself to party decisions, now finds itself in a lamentable position. State retail trade is also not going through the best of times, to put it mildly.

The exchanges that have sprung up quite recently are increasingly laying claim to the role of the instrument that regulates the flows of output and to some extent is replacing the traditional horizontal and vertical links that are disappearing before our very eyes. They ensure a relatively large degree of freedom for both buyer and seller, and this means the decisions that are reached are the result of searches for profit and economic expediency rather than the fruits of some bureaucratic idea.

Exchange turnover is not yet exerting a global influence on the economy, although, taking into account the extreme youth of the structures themselves, their scale is impressive. If we take into account the fact that even by next year up to 50 percent of commodities in short supply, such as oil and metal, and up to 30 percent of agricultural produce, including grain, will be marketed in a free market, along with all commodities not in short supply, then there can be no doubt that the exchange has a future. It is moving primarily along the road of specialization, which in time will transform most of them into trade houses and companies. As a result, some of them will become classic exchanges, for stock, metals, or grain.

Today the main specialization of all the exchanges, both universal or "sector," is consumer goods. According to figures from an analysis done by the Institute of Organized Markets, circulated recently by the INTERFAX agency, the range of commodities at most of the specialized exchanges is about 10 percent to 15 percent. But there are already examples showing a higher level of specialization. Analysis of the first trades conducted by the "Russian Paper" exchange shows the commodities in which it deals (paper, timber, cellulose, special equipment, and books) make up more than one-third of its trading activity. As far as deals concluded are concerned, the specialized range of goods accounts for 98-99 percent of all purchases. The authors of the report emphasize that it is precisely the specialized exchanges that will in the long term be able to provide the classic exchange quotations, that is, determine the value of a commodity. In this connection it is to be hoped that we are experiencing the last period of the age of pricing according to price lists.

Offering the complex at the exhibition of today's elusive achievements of the national economy to the exchange center is sharply stimulating the development of this market instrument. The conditions under which the Exhibition of National Economy Achievements will be transformed are still unclear. It was decided at the meeting to set up a mixed working group of representatives of government bodies and the exchange to draw up the appropriate documents. It is suggested that the republics might make use of their own economic exhibitions to organize exchanges or trade houses, which will sharply increase the chances of the formation of a common exchange within the Union without artificial barriers, or at least a minimum amount of them.

V. Shcherbakov also proposed that the exchanges take part in the funding to set up commercial information systems that would serve the country's exchange network by hooking it into the international communications channels. Proposals on this subject have already been made by very large companies in the West. The proposal itself to new businessmen to hold shares with the government in order to fund a major project (according to preliminary estimates the exchanges could allocate several hundred million rubles for this purpose) is a new and remarkable fact.

Of course, there will be more than enough people desirous of acquiring or leasing property at the Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy and it will not be easy to work out fair principles for offering rights of ownership or use. Moreover, the transformation should not deprive people of a fine place to enjoy their leisure, with its ponds and hundreds of hectares of greenery. Obviously the exhibition and fair activity will be preserved there in some form. But these are all more in the nature of technical issues. The main thing is that there will be a start to trading in real products and securities (at free prices), and this is much more important than continuing to exhibit successes that are hardly convincing. This was something that had to be understood, and a decision made to act.

Bank Official Gives Soviet Debt Payment Figures

LD0808095991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0500 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] We shall have to pay up to $15 billion each year from 1991 to 1994 to clear the interest on our debt to Western countries and short-term credits. As (Mozhayskov), chief of the State Bank's Main Currency Finance Directorate, stated at a press conference, the Soviet side has recently been as much as $3-4 billion a year behind on payments. He said that the main responsibility for this lies with commercial organizations which have constantly failed to meet their commitments, hoping that the state will always cover up their inability to make payments.

At the same time, Ivanov, a consultant to the Supreme Soviet's International Affairs Committee, commented that the debt repayment problem is not so acute that the USSR will have to ask the West to reschedule payments in the immediate future.

That was a report from the Russian Information Agency.

Paper Reports Official's Statements

PM0808134491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, IAN, AP roundup: "Will the USSR Pay Off Its Foreign Debt?"]

[Text] In 1991-1994 the Soviet Union will have to pay $15 billion a year to pay off the interest on its debt to Western countries, and also on short-term credits. As Oleg Mozhayskov, chief of the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] Main Currency and Financial Administration, stated at a press conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center, defaults on payments on the Soviet side have recently reached $3-4 billion a year. He said that the main responsibility for this rests with commercial organizations, "which have continually failed to fulfill their commitments in the hope that the state would always cover their inability to pay."

At the same time Ivan Ivanov, consultant to the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee, noted that "the debt payment problem is not sufficiently acute for the USSR to ask the West to defer its payments in the immediate future." He said that the foreign debt at present is not in excess of the limit set by the Supreme Soviet—R42 billion at the official exchange rate, RIA reports.

Official Doubts Timing of Ruble Convertibility

LD0708094891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] A representative of the USSR State Bank, (Oleg Mozhayskov), has expressed doubt about the intention of the government to make the ruble fully convertible next year.

Speaking at a conference on problems of international economic relations in Moscow, he said that this could be done not earlier than in two years' time. He also stressed the importance of setting up an international stabilization fund. (Oleg Mozhayskov) said that today nobody is satisfied with the old system of distributing the currency by the Central Government and therefore it should be abolished.

It is also necessary to bring to norm the exchange currency rates in the Soviet Union. Along with the official exchange rate there are commercial, market and tourist exchange rates.

Scientific

Symposium Views Impact of Chernobyl Radiation

LD1308092191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Aug 91 p 4

[Viktor Romanchin report: "Screen of Secretiveness Opens Slightly"]

[Text] Work has been going on at the USSR Academy of Sciences N.N. Semenov Chemical Physics Institute in Moscow at an international symposium devoted to the problem of the radiological consequences of accidents at nuclear electric power stations [AES]. In addition to Soviet scientists, it has been attended by specialists from Germany, the United States, France, Japan, India, Australia, Belgium, and other countries.

"The theme of the conference is particularly important for Soviet people," USSR People's Deputy and Academician V. Goldanskiy says. "For them this problem began on the evening of 28 April 1986 via their television screens, when amid the flow of news stories the 'Vremya' program made a modest announcement about an accident at the Chernobyl AES. This announcement was made two days after an event that shook the whole world. For two days everyone except the Soviet people knew about the disaster. And this was not by chance. The unprecedented accident not only shed light on the flaws in the development of the USSR's nuclear energy program but also on the flaws of the political system, the flaws of a closed society."

It is clear now that there were major defects in the design of the reactor installed at the Chernobyl AES, but nonetheless the main flaw was the notorious secretiveness. Only after the Chernobyl disaster was it "permitted" to write and speak about the Kyshtym accident and the contamination of the Techa River and the complex of lakes in Chelyabinsk Oblast by highly radioactive waste products. Before this we heard only about the advantages of the national nuclear power industry.

Unfortunately, it is worth stating that not all the information that exists in the Soviet Union is even getting to the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA]. Thus, for example, in a report by IAEA experts submitted in May 1991, nothing is said about the thousands of people who were evacuated from the Chernobyl accident zone or the more than half a million liquidators of the consequences of this accident.

"At the same time," Socioecological Union Coordinator L. Popov says, "Soviet investigators accumulated unique data about the effect of small doses of radiation on man's health. The scientific observations showed that there may be different laws governing the effect of small doses of radiation from those that govern the effect of large doses, and that these laws have been little studied at present. Recent results indicate that when affected by small doses of radiation, the most notable changes are those in the organism's resistance. Thus, among those who took part in the liquidation of the consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident the incidence of infarctions and hypotonia, diseases of the nervous and endocrinal systems, and mental and cardiovascular disorders is far more frequent."

These health disorders have also been noted in people who live not just in the contaminated territories around the Chernobyl AES but also in Chelyabinsk Oblast and in settlements and villages on the Techa River, where the major "Mayak" enterprise operates. Moreover, this cannot just be explained away as radiationphobia or stress: The pollution of Russian oblasts started to come to light quite recently.

The scientists talked a lot about the damage done to parent cells subjected to the action of small doses of radiation, and about the microscopic particles of fuel that enter the organism and thereby increase the likelihood that malignant growths will appear. On the whole the conference showed that the problem of the effect of small doses has at the present time not been studied in depth.

Expedition Heads for Sunken Nuclear Submarine

LD1108081691 Moscow TASS in English 0803 GMT 11 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Biryukov]

[Text] Kaliningrad August 11 TASS—An expedition sailed off from Kaliningrad on Satuday aboard the research vessel Academician Mstislav Keldysh to the area where the Soviet nuclear-powered submarine Komsomolets sank. It will examine the radiation and hydrological situation in the area.

The expedition will spend 40 days near Bear Island in the Sea of Norway where the submarine sank two years ago. Using the latest Mir deep-water self-contained apparatus, specialists will examine the submarine that lies at a depth of 1,685 meters with its reactor shut down.

The expedition involves scientists from academic institutes, specialists from the USSR Navy and designers of this submarine. They are expected to appraise the expediency and possibility of lifting the submarine, which was tentatively scheduled for 1993.

Soviet-U.S. Space Research Apparatus Launched

LD1508133591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 15 Aug (TASS)—Scientists of the two countries [United States and USSR] have begun to implement the largest Soviet-American space project since the "Soyuz-Apollo" program. The automatic space apparatus "Meteor-3," intended for research into the earth's ozone layer, was launched today from the Plesetsk Cosmodrome using the "Tsiklon" rocket carrier.

'Nuclear Explosions' in Kuzbass Asserted

LD0208091291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] According to a POSTFAKTUM report, Aman Tuleyev, Chairman of the Kemerovo Oblast Soviet, has asserted that scientific nuclear explosions were carried out in the Kuzbass. He said this on Oblast Television.

The Chairman of the Oblast Soviet said that he has information about tests but no relevant documents. Having noted that he regards the concealment of official data as a crime, Tuleyev stressed that full clarity is needed in this issue. After all, there are old residents who speak about explosions. The relevant bodies, the chairman of the oblast soviet said, have been instructed by him more than once to sort things out. However, he has not yet received an official confirmation.

'Ecologically Clean' Power Technology Patented

LD1108212391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] Soviet scientists have patented a principally new technology of ecologically clean power production without burning either organic or nuclear fuel.

The project is based on the principle of using the most powerful natural energy phenomenon, the tornado. A typhoon created in a giant cone-shaped structure rotates blades of a turbine with an electric current generator.

Military laboratories in several countries have been trying to reproduce this phenomonon.

Interest Revived for Building Ultralight Aircraft

OW0808032291 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Aug 91

[L. Elin video report; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] The creation of self-made flying apparatuses has again expanded in our country in the last decade. I say again because in the twenties and thirties it was perhaps the greatest hobby among youths. What a pity that later this movement somewhat thinned out. However, our prominent aircraft designers began their way to big-time aviation precisely through such gliders and small planes. So, maybe the reviving of the tradition gives us some hope.

[Begin recording] [Elin] The film you are watching now was shot in various towns of our country—on the airfields of Moscow, Kiev, and Riga. But the first review and contest like this took place in the Crimea, which is the cradle of Soviet small aviation. Let us remember the aircraft flights made in the twenties by Korolev, Antonov, Yakovlev, and Sukhoy, who were 18 and 20 years old then. [Video shows a variety of home-made ultralight aircraft being test-flown, among them single seaters, a parachute assisted aircraft, gyros, a small helicopter, and a wing flapping aircraft accelerating along the runway, taking a nosedive]

That is how man's eternal dream of free flight became true. In our times, ultralights [deltoplan], gliders, paragliders, and even flapwings [makholet] like this soar above earth; before, we could only see them in cinema documentaries from the beginning of this century. What imagination these inventors have!

Here we have a two-engine plane with the endearing name of "Yegorych" by the designer Prokopets, and the already forgotten "Avtozhir" assembled by the skilled craftsmen of Tula—in short, an incredible collection of aircraft of the most diverse kinds—after all there are more than 10,000 enthusiasts who give all their free time to such flights.

Once every two years, the amateur designers and pilots gather for the reviews and contests, which turn into real celebrations for the aviators. This year, the contest will be held in Chernigov, simultaneously with the Air Fleet Day. It is interesting that the City of Chernigov is now commemorating its 1300th anniversary, and invites not only Soviet, but also foreign representatives of small aviation groups to take part in the unusual "Chernigov 91" air show. This contest is carried out by the USSR Federation of the Enthusiasts of Aviation, whose ranks are being filled out by youths who have remembered the forgotten slogan of their fathers and greatfathers: "Youth—build our air fleet". [end recording]

Military

Soviet Military Strength in Baltics Detailed

LD1408165391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Text] The Estonian newspaper DIGEST has carried information on the Soviet armed forces in the Baltic republics. We think that our listeners would be also interested to hear some figures.

First on Lithuania: There are 24 military plants in the republic, 21 of which turn out produce unique in the Soviet Union, from radio locaters and laser equipment to electronic installations for missiles. Two airborne paratrooper divisions are deployed in Kaunas and Jonava, a militarized infantry division is stationed in Vilnius and another in Klaipeda.

Latvia, unlike Lithuania, has no especially significant military plants except for a plant which turns out old-type T-55 tanks for export to developing countries. The most important armed forces installations in Latvia are the navy base within Liepaja and at the Daugava estuary. Riga is the seat of the headquarters of the Baltic Military District, while a tank division is stationed in the Dobele district.

There are practically no military plants in Estonia either. However, stationed on its territory are an infantry division and ships of the Baltic navy. Underground hangars around (Adavere) and Tartu harbour long-distance aircraft.

The Baltic Military District, which besides the three Baltic republics includes also the Kaliningrad territory, numbers 138,000 servicemen [as heard] in all. Land-based troops in the Baltic number 7,400 soldiers and officers, 2,600 tanks, nearly 60 operational and tactics facilities and 6,300 armoured personnel carriers. The air force numbers 5,300 soldiers and over 500 warplanes. The Baltic navy counts 8,700 sailors and officers, 47 submarines, three cruisers, 13 torpedo boats, 410 small warships and auxiliary vessels.

As soon as the Baltic republics gained independence, the 600,000 Soviet servicemen returning to the Soviet Union from Eastern Europe would be joined by over 100,000 from the Baltic republics. The air defense system, the development of the Baltic navy and other army and navy structures would have to undergo serious reorganization.

Foreign Observers Take Part in Fleet Exercises

LD1408140791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Here is another Russian Information Agency report from this morning's news selection. Around 30 foreign observers have arrived in Vladivostok to take part in large-scale maneuvers by units and formations of the Red Banner Pacific Fleet. They will watch the progress of exercises in the Sea of Japan from aboard the Petropavlovsk antisubmarine vessel and the Bystryy destroyer. The program for the event, which is to last for several days, includes the escorting of a convoy, the repulsion of an air attack, and search and destroy procedures in relation to enemy submarines. This year all necessary information will be at the disposal of the guests. They will observe the organization of service in the fleet and the activites of ships' crews and naval aircraft in conditions as close as possible to those encountered in battle.

Ammunition Washed Ashore in Maritime Kray

LD0808091291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2200 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Zinc boxes with explosive devices for artillery missiles are being washed by waves onto the shores of Maritime Kray. These worrying reports have appeared in some local and central newspapers. The markings on the fished out godsends do not leave any doubt: the Pacific Fleet has left the marks. But how could it happen that ammunition is ownerless? The accident was caused by basic negligence, as Antonov, captain first rank and chief of the directorate of the rocket-artillery armaments of the fleet, explained to a TASS correspondent. In the second half of July at points in the Soviet territorial waters in the Sea of Japan which have been designated for the burial of obsolete ammunition, a special purpose team of the fleet carried out a planned sinking of 412 zinc boxes with explosive devices. It permitted a gross violation of appropriate instructions and as a result the boxes retained their buoyancy and are drifting along the Maritime Kray shores. As soon as the first signal about the dangerous godsends was received by the fleet the whole coast was divided into zones of responsibility of special purpose services of the Maritime Flotilla. Working for 24 hours a day the search groups have discovered about 200 zinc boxes which have risen to the surface. After a careful investigation of the accident by order of the commander of the fleet some of those guilty were severely punished, right up to being discharged and transferred to the reserve. As regards the others, the fleet's procuracy has started an investigation.

Navy Admits Liability for Detonators

PM1208113591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

["Army and Navy News Service" report: "Negligence the Cause"]

[Text] Alarming reports have appeared in a number of local and central newspapers that zinc boxes containing artillery-shell detonators are being washed up on the shores of the Maritime Kray. The markings on the objects fished out of the water leave no doubt as to their provenance—the Pacific Fleet has left its trace. But where exactly could these ownerless munitions have come from?

"Basic negligence was the cause," said Captain First Rank G. Antonov, chief of the Fleet Rocket and Artillery Armaments Directorate. "In the latter half of July, at a spot in the Sea of Japan in Soviet territorial waters designated for the disposal of obsolete munitions, a special fleet team carried out the planned sinking of 412 zinc boxes containing detonators. A flagrant breach of the relevant instructions occurred during the process and the boxes retained their buoyancy and drifted along the coastline of Maritime Kray.

"As soon as the fleet received the first signal about the dangerous finds the whole coastline was divided up it into zones of responsibility for the Maritime Kray Flotilla special services. Working around the clock, the search parties have discovered around 200 of the zinc boxes which have surfaced.

"After careful investigation of the incident, by order of the fleet commander the guilty unit has been severely punished, to the extent of some men being relieved of their posts and discharged into the reserve. The fleet prosecutor's office has launched an investigation into others."

Students Threaten Strikes To Retain Deferment

91UM0825A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Text] A student strike committee has been set up in Moscow with the goal of drawing public attention to the new draft law "On General Military Service," many conditions of which, in the students' opinion, are antireform and strengthen the prevailing order in our Armed Forces. In the event the law is passed, students will also lose deferment from military service.

Further on Student Strike Threat

PM1508113991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Aug 91 p 1

[K. Belyaninov report: "Defense Ministry Can Organize Strike Better Than Any Strike Committee"]

[Text] The draft of the new Law "On Universal Military Service Obligation and Military Service," so painstakingly prepared by the Defense Ministry, has done what student leaders have been unable to achieve in five years. An organization has been set up which is ready to use every available means to uphold student rights properly. Right up to a strike.

Igor Ptichnikov, one of the committee coordinators, confirms: "The Student Strike Committee Coordination Council comprises representatives from organizations of the most diverse political streams, from anarchists to Christian democrats. But we do not intend to restrict ourselves solely to student demands. Our tasks are far wider—to further the radical turnaround from universal military service obligations toward a genuine reform of the Armed Forces, ultimately professionalizing them. If the Supreme Soviet ignores our demands and continues to adopt antireform laws depriving students of the right to have their military service deferred, we are prepared to organize a general strike."

Student organizations in Moscow, Leningrad, Ufa, Khabarovsk, Chelyabinsk, Novosibirsk, and Sverdlovsk have already declared that they will participate in the committee's action.

One problem: How to avoid inciting hostility from those who in any case have to serve in an "army without students...."

The first result of the newly created committee's work was... the severance of telephone contact.

Black Sea Fleet Manning Situation 'Difficult'

LD0808135191 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Writing in FLAG RODINY, [the newspaper] organ of the navy, Admiral Khronopulo, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, called the decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet on recalling students from military and naval call-up unreasonable.

Because several republics stopped sending conscripts to the Navy, the situation on vessels of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet has become difficult. The admiral proposes that the next session of the country's Parliament should renew justice and strictly observe the USSR Law on General Military Service. It should make call-up service applicable to all, not in words, but in deeds.

Estonia

More on Rejection of Gorbachev's Treaty Appeal

OW1408190891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On 14th August the Estonian Parliament, meeting in Tallinn, rejected the proposal of four deputies immediately to include in their agenda the question of President Gorbachev's appeal to the parliaments of the republics to consider signing the Union treaty. The proposal ws introdued by factions supporting the preservation of the USSR—the Communists, the "Equal Rights" group, "Virumaa" and "Cooperation". As voting showed, most of the deputies opposed the consideration of this question.

As representatives of the above factions reported to a BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent, after the meeting at Novo-Ogarevo on June 5th when republican leaders discussed the questions relating to the conclusion of the Union treaty, Mikhail Gorbachev sent a confidential appeal to all of the republican parliaments, asking them to consider anew the question of signing the Union treaty.

Lithuania

Interior Ministry Denies Medininkai Allegations

OW1408235691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 13 the Lithuanian governmental commission investigating the incident at the Medininkai border post on July 31, led by Vice-Premier Zigmas Vaisvila, issued a statement accusing the USSR Interior Ministry, the Defense Ministry and the KGB of actually not helping investigate the tragedy at Medininkai.

IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent asked the Director of USSR Interior Ministry's Public Relations Center Andrey Chernenko to comment on the statement. Mr. Chernenko said: "The USSR Interior Ministry has not received any claims from Lithuanian law enforcement bodies. The statement is not confirmed with the facts and is absolutely groundless. The statement is an example of purely political action aimed at undermining the normal professional contacts between all Lithuanian law enforcement bodies."

Militia Major General Evgeny Lagoda, first deputy chief of the USSR Criminal Investigation Department's Central Bureau, says professionals investigating the incident are not involved in politics, they are, in the first place, investigators and experts.

In the words of Mr. Lagoda, the statement of the Lithuanian governmental commission is not objective and does not correspond with the reality.

Mr. Lagoda told BF [BALTFAX] that an investigating team, led by deputy chief of the USSR Criminal Investigation Departments' Central Bureau, militia Major General Aleksandr Kotlyarov, left for Vilnius shortly after the case had been considered by USSR Interior Minister Boris Pugo.

In Vilnius Mr. Kotlyarov met the leaders of the Lithuanian Interior Ministry and the Criminal Police Department. They discussed the information obtained during the preliminary investigation and outlined a plan of future actions.

Mr. Lagoda says Lithuanian and Soviet investigators are carrying out an enormous amount of work gathering information in the three neighboring republics. At the end of every day the Soviet and Lithuanian investigating teams sum up what has been done and pose new tasks.

Mr. Lagoda says they understand perfectly that success can be achieved only by joint efforts. They will do their best to find and detain the criminals, while strictly observing laws.

"In my opinion, the statement of the Lithuanian governmental commission is an attempt to draw up into some intrigue, but we will not be involved in it", Mr. Lagoda points out.

Asked by IF what information has been obtained during the investigation, Mr. Lagoda said; "In the interest of objective investigation, leakage of any information is undesirable. It can do great harm to the investigation. We would not like it to happen. So, everybody should be patient and wait until the investigation is finished."

Further Interior Ministry Commentary

LD1408222291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The BALTFAX News Agency has circulated a report on the recent tragedy regarding the Lithuanian customs post. This report was the reason for a meeting between our correspondent and representatives of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry.

[Begin recording] [Reporter Valeriy Bakarinov] The essence of this report is that the government commission of the Lithuanian Republic has noted that representatives of the Internal Affairs Ministry, the KGB, and the USSR Defense Ministry, despite signed and oral agreements, are not giving the law enforcement bodies of the Lithuanian Republic real assistance in investigating the circumstances of the incident. Could you tell us what such a statement—an official statement by the Lithuanian Government—is connected with? [video shows reporter conducting interview at Internal Affairs Ministry office with three officials seated at a small table]

[A. G. Chernenko, captioned as first deputy of the Maintenance of Public Order Chief Directorate of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry] Frankly speaking, I am somewhat dismayed that no official statements on the part of the Lithuanian professionals have reached us—and we are cooperating with all law enforcement bodies without exception, irrespective of the department to which they belong.

[Bakarinov] You are answerable for special purpose militia detachment units operating in our country. For your part, have you granted Lithuania's law enforcement bodies any opportunities to carry out an investigation?

[Z. P. Ryazanov, captioned as first deputy chief of the Maintenance of Public Order Directorate of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry] Procuracy officials are carrying out investigative actions regarding the Vilnius special purpose militia department. Moreover, firing of the weapons that procuracy officials demanded has been carried out. We are not using any measures to resist the investigative measures being carried out.

[Bakarinov] What could you say as a representative of the investigation service?

[Ye. I. Lagoda, captioned as first deputy chief of the Criminal Investigation Department Central Bureau of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry] Well, what can be said? In this extremely important case, constantly—from the moment it was perpetrated—an operational investigative group of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry composed of experienced officials of the Criminal Investigation Department, of the Crime Detection Service, and other staff members, has been operating.

The work is proceeding jointly with the criminal police of the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry. There are virtually no differences as to the organization of the work, the location for carrying it out, or any other circumstances. We will try to achieve the true detection of the crime and the establishment of who the bandits are who committed this grave crime.

[Bakarinov] While I was on my way here, I heard somewhere in the corridors about yet another villainous event that occurred today.

[Chernenko] You know, this event is an unprecedented one. Yesterday evening, 33 of our fighters were captured by illegal armed units operating in Narogno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

If such a group is in the hands of the so-called illegally armed units—and in my view they are simply bandits—then what can be expected?

I assume that a fairly precisely planned attack on the law enforcement bodies is underway. Everything is being done in order to weaken them, in order to enable one or another forces of an extremist persuasion to operate fairly freely in the economic and legal space of our state. This is terrible. [end recording] [video shows brief glimpse of the BALTFAX report, dated 13 August]

Nevzorov Asserts OMON Not Involved in Killings

LD1408133791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1130 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] The Special Purpose Militia Detachments [OMONs] of Vilnius and Riga could not have had anything to do with the events at the customs post in Medininkai, television journalist Aleksandr Nevzorov has stated in an interview with a correspondent of the Russian Information Agency. He said that the Department for the Defense of the Country watches every vehicle of the detachment leaving base. In Vilnius alone it has at least 18 vehicles for this purpose. I can tell you the number of each of them, Nevzorov added.

The Russian Information Agency asked (Algimantas Vatkaitis), deputy director of the Lithuanian Republic's Department for the Defense of the Country, for an explanation. He said Nevzorov's statement does not correspond to reality. The department does not know all the vehicles that OMON uses. (Vatkaitis) also said OMON men are always armed and often travel around in vehicles without number plates.

Armenia, Lithuania Sign Bilateral Treaty

OW1408185691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania and Armenia signed a treaty on interstate relations on August 14 in Vilnius. The document was signed by chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis and Chairman of the Armenian Supreme Council Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

The treaty, in particular, says that Armenia and Lithuania recognize each other as independent states and in the sphere of economic relations grant each other the most favored status.

As BF [BALTFAX] ws told at the Lithuanian Parliament, the treaty is of general character: economic, political and cultural relations will be concretized in separate documents.

Talks between the Armenian and Lithuanian delegations headed by Vytautas Landsbergis and Levon Ter-Petrosyan took place on August 14 morning.

Mr. Ter-Petrosyan is scheduled to meet representatives of the Armenian community in Lithuania later today. In the evening he will leave Vilnius.

Citizens Comment on Nazi-Soviet Pact Anniversary

PM1408133191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[Yu. Stroganov report: "To the Scene of the Event. Prelude to Assault"]

[Text] Vilnius—...Neither the courtesy of the elderly secretary nor the swift agreement of a "Sajudis" leader to an interview relieved the tension. The words pronounced were commonplace, but, it seemed, distrust flickered in the eyes. It was a desire to get at the sources of this distrust, and also...the burning hot August which brought me to "Sajudis" headquarters.

In recent years August in Lithuania has been a traditionally "political" month. The peak always comes 23 August. Strictly speaking, it is this date, on which "Sajudis" organizes its grandiose shows, which is the cause of August's special status. The 23d day of this month brought the peoples of the world in 1939 the notorious Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

However, "Sajudis'" events, which attract thousands of people, are usually far from being just stern warnings to posterity and an opportunity to once again remember difficult times borne together. In my view, they are turning into a catalyst, stimulating yet another campaign aimed against Communists, the "occupiers" of the Kremlin. They do not promote accord but pour oil on the flames of confrontation between the republic's polarized forces. What is the cost of merely the now customary uncompromising vocabulary of rallies, or the attempts to demolish memorials to the "Soviet era"?

How will this August end, an August which began with a massive political assault on representatives of the Soviet Army and the country's militia and on Communists in connection with the attack by persons unknown on the customs post in Medininkai and the ensuing fatalities? But maybe the unproven charges leveled against Communists are the prelude to a more brutal assault, to yet another anti-Soviet campaign?

M. Burokevicius, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, expresses in a letter to V. Landsbergis, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet, the opinion that the current action is aimed at diverting the people from the social and political crisis in Lithuania, at provoking national hysteria, and dealing yet another blow to the Lithuanian Communist Party. When will the peak of this action come—23 August?

In order to throw light on this question, and also the viewpoint of "Sajudis" senior secretary A. Kubilius, I set out for the movement's headquarters. In the room with the polite secretary, opposite which the editorial offices of the state newspaper LIETUVOS AIDAS are located, there are many stickers on the walls and furniture with national symbols. But not just that. There are two stylized snakes with a swastika entwined, as it were, in their tails, whose bodies crest two words in Lithuanian—"Union Treaty." There is a skull under which are two small flags: one showing the hammer and sickle, the other a swastika. A clearer attitude toward the Union could not be expressed. Correspondingly—to 23 August as well. Indeed, A. Kubilius has no intention of hiding this attitude. It has been expressed plainly in previous years too. And there is no need to be shy over words. If such an opinion exists, it must be known. The dictaphone impartially records the words of the "Sajudis" senior secretary:

"This date means the end of Lithuania's independent life and the beginning of occupation. We have seen in recent times that some moves toward an understanding of this have emerged even in the USSR, in Russia. An appropriate assessment of the pact was given by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The only problem is that it did not go further and assess the pact's consequences. But this has now been done by the Russian president at the signing of the treaty with the Lithuanian Republic. It was clearly stated that in 1940 the Lithuanian Republic was annexed...."

I did not mention out loud the exultant crowds in the cities of Lithuania in the summer of 1940, the juridical documents of the republic's accession to the USSR, or the shared experiences of half a century. I did not do so, because that would be useless here; I only asked:

"What events are planned for 23 August this year?"

"They will be universal. I think that it will be an action by the Baltic countries (obviously, A. Kubilius means Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—Yu.S.). 'Sajudis' is organizing in conjunction with the Latvian and Estonian People's Fronts the so-called Baltic blazing trail. We will again be calling people out onto the Baltic road that links Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius, along which a living chain was organized in 1989. They will assemble round bonfires. This has symbolic significance. In olden times, in the days of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, danger signals were transmitted using bonfires like this. For us this day has become a day of general assembly, when we try to feel a sense of solidarity. On the one hand we remember Lithuania's tragic fate and the victims of the occupation, and on the other we acquire new spirit for further steps...."

Well, A. Kubilius' viewpoint is a real one; it is also one which meets with support. It expresses the opinion of one of Lithuania's social groups. However, other opinions are no less real, and are supported by a great many people. A desire for an objective picture of public opinion brought me to the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party (LDLP), the majority of whose members three years ago—at that time still considering themselves Communists—actively supported the "Sajudis" line.

"Two years ago this date—23 August—was used for definite political purposes," LDLP Deputy Chairman G. Kirkilas says. "For many it was a revelation; in some sense it inflamed passions. Nowadays my attitude toward this date is calmer. I think that in time we will relate to many historical dates, including that of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, more philosophically. I am sure that even today secret diplomacy exists in the relations of large states. This is a definite policy. There is also the problem of the relations of large and small states. The position of the West has pushed people in Lithuania toward a certain radicalism, toward illusions. The West has always been two-faced. On the one hand, the annexation was not recognized. On the other, existing political realities have been taken into account. Even now their attitude toward us is the same way as before. I think that today the time has come for the historical events to be analyzed by historians, philosophers, and political scientists, and the conclusions drawn, but it is hardly a date which can be exploited to whip up passions, especially nationalist ones. Events on 23 August in previous years, of course, had significance; at the time my attitude toward them was normal. But I suggest that what is being prepared now is to some degree a farce. I do not think the problems of our statehood, with whom we should stand and with whom we should cooperate economically, should be decided at rallies or through such ritualistic forms. The time for political rituals has past.

"But some figures are trying to compensate for the weakness of their policies through such rituals," Kirkilas continues. "Such events are of no use at all in our ever-deteriorating and increasingly irritating economic situation. They accustom us to being distracted from concrete tasks. This is not a Western, not a pragmatic approach. Politicians should help people switch over to concrete, constructive work...."

And what do representatives of the Lithuanian Communist Party think about 23 August and the attendant events? Let Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Yu. Jermalavicius speak:

"Looking at it from the historical viewpoint, a nonaggression pact was concluded between the Soviet Union and Germany 23 August 1939. Subsequent historical events showed that this pact, now often called the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, to some extent helped to put back the beginning of the Great Patriotic War. This historical event is remembered in Lithuania most often in the area of assertions that the republic became an object of the division of spheres of influence between Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union. Since 1987, 23 August has been marked every year in Lithuania. I will recall that on 23 August 1987 foreign radio voices summoned a rally in Vilnius at the monument to Adam Mickiewicz. They succeeded in assembling a small number of anti-Soviet-minded people. On 23 August 1988 the nonaggression pact, interpreted nationalistically and in an anti-Soviet spirit, began to be marked on a massive scale with the participation of the then leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

"The following year, on the eve of the split in the ranks of the Lithuanian Communist Party, 23 August was celebrated in Lithuania in a by now openly anti-Soviet spirit and on a mass scale," the professor claims. "And in 1990, anti-Soviet forces hatched plans to breach the Soviet-Polish border, demolish the monuments to Lenin, to Chernyakhovskiy, the liberator of Vilnius, and to Kapsukas, the founder of the Lithuanian Communist Party, and to seize the party archives of the Lithuanian Communist Party. But whereas the previous three years witnessed a certain euphoria, last year showed that reserves of anti-Soviet hysteria are exhausted. The republic is entering ever deeper into a crisis embracing all spheres of life. People are worried about how they will survive tomorrow. Antiparliamentary sentiments are becoming a mass phenomenon. And as for the pact, historians need to study the essence of this document and the processes of world and European politics on the eve of World War II. As a historian I think that all the i's have not yet been dotted or all the t's crossed. Specialists still have to get nearer the truth...."

...Three opinions.... They testify to the contradictory nature of the opinions of the republic's inhabitants. All the more essential, then, is not another twist in the spiral of confrontation but the path to accord. After which steps, maybe, distrust will disappear not just from people's face....

Kuptsov, Yeltsin Discuss Departyization Issue

LD1408221491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1645 GMT 14 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Yesterday the Vesti program reported on the meeting between Yeltsin and Kuptsov, the head of the Russian Communist Party. We said that a decree on departyization was also discussed at the meeting.

[Begin V. Kuptsov recording] It was not the main issue, but it was a weighty one. Of course, it was I who raised it. It was my initiative. I raised it. We did not change our opinions, so to speak. We have our views, separate views, but at the same time Boris Nikolayevich expressed his opinion that by issuing this decree he did not set himself the task of carrying out any repressive and violent actions against communists and did not demand that this issue should be resolved quickly. Yesterday we agreed that if the Committee for Constitutional Supervision is not adopting any decisions, we will act within the framework of law; and the process of implementation will take no longer than was stipulated. We agreed that it will be within a year. [end recording]

Kuptsov Comments on Meeting

LD1408224191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A compromise has been reached between Russia's president and the republic's Communist Party whereby the decree on departyization will be carried out not by the end of the year, as its authors were insisting, but in the course of the 12 months following and in the event of the decree being approved by the country's constitutional supervision committee. This became known today.

[Correspondent Aleksandr Gurnov] Yesterday in this building the government communications telephone rang. The new leader of Russia's Communists asked for a meeting with the republic's president. The meeting took place and today journalists have been commenting on its possible outcome. However, this meant for Valentin Kuptsov that since this morning has had to give interviews all day.

[Kuptsov] Well, the meeting with Boris Nikolayevich came about through my wish to make contact personally with the state leadership of the Russian Federation. I regard the meeting as having been a positive one. We agreed on contacts, and indeed I see these contacts as one of the main tasks for the Russian Communist Party Central Committee.

[Gurnov] Is this linked with the change of leadership and the fact that you have replaced Polozkov in the post of first secretary?

[Kuptsov] I would not put the matter that way. The party now finds itself in a somewhat different position. The balance of political forces has changed. Elections have been held, and the Russian Communist Party is obliged to find its position in the positive transformations that are occurring in Russia.

[Gurnov] Valentin Aleksandrovich, a question that Russian Television cannot fail to ask you, since no one has yet heard your answer to it, is this: Your party is accused of having lost a very great deal by excluding Russia's vice president from its ranks. What is your attitude to this?

[Kuptsov] We have such a difficult life that we very frequently adopt decisions without weighing their consequences—and this applies to both sides. I consider that the loss of all honest people at the present time because of actions, let us say, that have not been thought through and have been hasty is indeed a loss, of course.

[Gurnov] However the new relationship of the Russian Communist Party to Russian power is certainly a gain. It is unknown for whom it is the greater gain and which of the sides will gain most from it, but it is certainly in all of our interests, since it may in practice lower the intense pressure on Russia's political barometer.

INTERFAX Interviews Kuptsov

OW1408231991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] First Secretary of the Central Committee of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Valentin Kuptsov said in an interview with INTERFAX that his meeting with the RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow on Tuesday covered the situation in the republic, and relations between state and governmental bodies on one hand and party structures on the other.

According to Kuptsov who assumed this post at a recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party after Ivan Polozkov had stepped down, he said in the course of the conversation that communists planned to play a constructive, meaningful role in the life of the Russian Federation.

"We believe it important to take every effort to prevent the breakdown of the multinational Union state, to preserve the country's integral economic mechanism, to stabilize the consumer market, to improve law and order," he emphasized.

"We did not reach an agreement as to the suspension of the decree on departification and it remains an open question though we hope for a just decision of the Constitutional Compliance Committee," said he.

According to Kuptsov, Yeltsin said that the decree did not provide for any repressive measures against communists and does not demand an immediate scrapping of the existing forms of work of party committees and that had a long-term effect.

Kuptsov said that Yeltsin had a positive attitude toward the "active and constructive position of the communist party" and agreed on the need "to build a close cooperation between state and party structures at all levels."

Kuptsov Discusses Communist Party Changes, Role

LD1408154291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1310 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Interview with Valentin Aleksandrovich Kuptsov, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, by unidentified correspondent in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Valentin Aleksandrovich, the press has published your biographical details, so people do have a general impression. We would like to know your views on issues that concern everyone and, first and foremost no doubt, on the CPSU's new role and place in society.

[Kuptsov] Your question interests both Communists and ordinary, nonparty people today: Indeed, what is the party's role under new conditions? The basic functions are defined in the draft program, but first and foremost I see the party as renewing itself to proceed today out of the real situation of the present day, to be a party of actions, of course, a party which would.... [changes thought] I stand and I come out unambiguously in favor of its expressing the interests of the laborer. That is my position on these issues. The party must be democratic. We must find in full measure a mechanism for implementing the decisions of the party masses—that is, a party that is renewing itself; a party of action; a party that represents the interests of the laborer, of course. That is how I would define it briefly, in the way that I see it. Of course, first and foremost one must see the real conditions, and one must see the party in real conditions.

[Correspondent] The draft of the new CPSU program has been published. The document contains a mass of provisions of fundamental importance. What would you single out in this document?

[Kuptsov] First, I would single out what is new in this document, the absolutely new, fundamentally new, approach toward elaborating the program. That is why it came into being in fairly sharp discussions. The draft that has been published—somewhere around the sixth or eighth version—will, of course, not be adopted as a once-and-for-all version, of that I am convinced. The new aspects consist in the fact that, in the first place, this is a short program. It is designed for a short period of time. It defines and totals the results; it defines the principles for action; it defines our immediate tasks. This program looks into the future; it lies more in the future than it does, perhaps, even in the present. It is a democratic program. The program's sharpest and most controversial element is the democratic bias. It is not without reason that many sociologists, politologists, practical workers, and party workers say that it departs somewhat from the traditional nature of our programs. That is nothing to be frightened of, for we have adopted it as a basis for discussion and for filling out with new content. We expect the party platforms and trends to express their own views. The conference of the Marxist platform just ended. In my view, they took a constructive path. They adopted this program as a base but are filling out individual sections of it with their own vision of the problems. In particular, they are working out issues concerning the social protection of the working people. They are giving more precise substance to the socialist character, but I think that other trends will also express their view.

The element concerning the party's internal structure is contentious. There are more contradictions about that than about anything else today because today we are living and looking at the party more from the positions of yesterday than from today's positions. Here, too, no doubt, one ought not criticize and condemn communists to some extent because they look at things in that way. Evidently, that is the kind of people we are; we always base ourselves more on experience and the real situation and fail to look forward. For that reason, the characteristics of the party are somewhat diffuse, particularly the internal way of acting, discipline, and relations between Communists. I think that this section will undergo substantial changes. As for the ideological side, this is also a disputed point for the first time, one that is not understood by everybody today. Whatever the case, we are, for the first time, recording in a program document, in the draft program, our... [changes thought] On the one hand, we are emphasizing that we are not rejecting Marxism-Leninism, but alongside it, we are also using all the other progressive ideas which mankind has developed, primarily those of the social-democratic and socialist parties, and I think that here, too, we must not be afraid of such an approach. These parties have accumulated colossal experience, particularly in the social protection of working people, and we need to use this as well, the progressive things that have been accumulated by civilization.

I might say in concluding that the program is for debate; the program is set apart by its innovations. Right from the start, it was subject to sharp criticism from various stands, but this was expected. I think that this will be correct, but even today it is clear that we will have very rich factual material and, probably, tens of thousands of different suggestions, and this will enable, first, the debate to be built up properly, and, second, documents to be worked out such as to reflect the interests of the absolute majority of Communists and certainly working people. I repeat: This program looks to the future, and I am completely confident that we will work out a version at the congress that suits the majority of Communists.

Second, this program will be directed at ensuring a certain unity of the party. We are not speaking now about unity in the old understanding of unity at any price, as we viewed it previously. Certainly, during the debate there will be those who reject the program. Both the right wing and the left wing will reject it. We don't see this as any tragedy; evidently, we will have to divorce ourselves from certain wings. I see the task in holding the center as much as possible, in ensuring the unity of action of the maximum of Communists. This program will guarantee this.

[Correspondent] Valentin Aleksandrovich, democratization—and the draft new programme speaks quite clearly about this—presupposes independence of the republican parties which are part of the CPSU. What opportunities open up here for the RSFSR Communist Party, in your view?

[Kuptsov] Here, too, one must look more to the future than to the experience that we have accumulated. We used to be a unified party; the republican parties, in fact, were just republican in name, while in essence they were like ordinary oblast party organizations. Their independence was strictly limited in cadres policy, in financial policy, in the planning or work of their own affairs. Everything will be made clearer, and, evidently, the party rules will be changed at the next party congress. First and foremost, we must believe that we will be living in a quite different union, with a fundamentally new approach to forming the union, that the greatest amount of independence, and in the broadest sense, will be granted, and that sovereignty of the republics will be filled out with very profound content. Of course, under these conditions, it would not make sense today to see a republican party as having such a rigid structure, a unified structure, or a unified program or unified rules, for all of our Union. The republican parties will have maximum independence. I can see them having their own programs being based on our party's generally accepted program but having content according to the peculiarities of every republic—the specific ethnic features, historical experience, even prospects for development. All this must be considered, naturally, in the manifestos of the republican parties. We are already, of course, starting to draft the Russian Communist Party's action program. This will be reflected in the rules. One must consider the special features, particularly in Russia's situation—that is, the existence of republics as part of Russia and how we can grant greater independence to today's autonomous formations. We also must think about another area; after all, we adopted the rules at the 28th congress, but they are not working completely. Several points proved to be not fully worked out, particularly on the new vision of the republics. The present Politburo must be viewed today more as a grand council of secretaries, first secretaries of the Communist Parties of the republics. Our old, traditional understanding of it, whereby it elaborated policy on all issues and saw to implementation of that policy.... [changes thought] There is no such situation, so why is there such fierce criticism of the Politburo nowadays for not busying itself with specific issues and elaboration of strategic guidelines, particularly for not implementing the policies? This Politburo cannot work in the way that the old Politburo did, and so we will evidently have to revise the functions of the highest bodies. Perhaps we will need to have some sort of council—for instance, under the Politburo—and the Politburo will have to be composed differently. This is how I see it. Evidently, there must be some sort of council that would examine the ties between the parties of the republics. The Secretariat's functions will probably have to change and total independence given to the republican communist parties, of course, to their elected bodies. The republics' sovereignty will certainly have to be complemented by sovereignty in the work of the parties. That is how I would describe the processes I see. This process is clear; it is difficult to grasp today. We keep on seeing the CPSU as a unified organization in which some sort of one-dimensional policy is always implemented. Now, there will be differences in the activities of the Communist Parties, but the party program and rules which would define the overall functions have, of course, to remain as the foundation, the backbone. Full independence must, naturally, be granted in the examination of all issues—in the drafting of a program and rules, in actions, in practical work, in finance and personnel, and so on. That is total independence of the Communist Parties, in my view.

Emphasizes Working for 'the People'

LD1408215191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1630 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Interview with Valentin Aleksandrovich Kuptsov, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, by unidentified Mayak and "Latest News" reporters in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] At the recent plenum of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party Central Committee, Valentin Aleksandrovich Kuptsov was elected first secretary of the Central Committee. He met Mayak and "Latest News" reporters. Here is a recording of their conversation: [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Whatever may be said on the theme that the party should not try to usurp the role of economic bodies, the fact that it is proving possible to some extent to dilute the consequences of the crisis is, in large measure, to the credit of the party organizations. That is a fact. All the same, it seems to me that the trend is toward a separation of functions. What do you regard as the task of primary party organizations under these circumstances?

[Kuptsov] When I am asked this question, I always reply in roughly the same way. I believe that where there are people, where there is a labor collective, the party will always have work to do. In other words, it must work with the people tackling matters that interest people—

the most vital and urgent ones—so that people can see that the party is working with them and for them. I think that in the context of life today, in today's circumstances, the work of primary party organizations in labor collectives should currently be subordinate to one goal: preparing for the transition to market relations. This is a problem that neither the administration nor the trade union nor young people nor the party can solve. The party has the experience. It could, jointly with public organizations and with the administration, prepare a package of measures for switching the enterprise or organization to work under market relations.

What do I have in mind? First, it must examine the future. What is to happen and how? How is the introduction of our new mechanisms to be determined? What route is to be followed in the process of dismantling state control? What form will privatization take? Who will be in charge of fixed assets and how? It must ensure that all this is done in the people's interests. Furthermore, the prospects of a given enterprise must be examined. Will there be unemployment? What work can be found for the people being made redundant? How can they be trained in a new skill, for instance? Most important of all, along with public organizations, it must ensure social protection for the collective. That is how I would describe the line of conduct today. This is not a petty task. It is a long-term task. These are major problems. I see the main trouble with taking party organizations out of labor collectives today as being that the party will be divorced from actual working conditions.

The second package of issues is its educational functions. The party must work with people and work with public organizations to develop initiative and to bring people into the management process. This is a whole package of issues that has always been at the basis of the activities of party organizations.

[Reporter] Valentin Aleksandrovich, what you have just said gives rise to yet another question which, it seems to me, many people ask: In time, will the preservation of party structures in industry not hinder labor collectives and divide them rather than consolidate them, as we would like it to be?

[Kuptsov] First of all, I would like to refer to just the real situation. Indeed, in the future, when we have a real multiparty system, when we build a rule-of-law state, when democratization on a wide plane becomes part of our social life, then these questions will probably appear. But I stress, in the future. According to my estimations, no party committees will appear at enterprises in the next three to five years. I have already said this more than once, but I will repeat it: The experience of the appearance of mass political parties shows that they cannot appear and operate just with the wave of a stick. It takes decades. In the second place, we should really understand that neither anarchists nor Christian-liberal democrats will go to industry. This is accumulated historical experience.

Therefore, to say that tomorrow there will be five to 10 party committees and they will hinder work, means ignorance of real life, pursuit of political aims, and a way of withdrawing party committees from labor collectives. Those who know life downstairs, in labor collectives, and those who look at this problem from there, do not name it. It is us at the top who name it. We, the politicians, and the new politicians who are coming, are the ones who create this problem. There is no such isue in grass-roots labor collectives. Definitely not. We have invented a problem here. I am always surprised by one question that is asked: In a party committee at an enterprise or in a workshop or in a laboratory, who sees in it a power that stands against anybody? When it is said that it operates by administrative methods, then it absolutely disagrees with real life. In my view, our administrative system finishes at the rayon level. At the oblast, city, or rayon level, indeed we have structures there—an oblast party committee, a city party committee, and a rayon party committee, which to a certain degree interfere in economic functions, administer, give orders, and use the system that is legalized.

This was not somebody's wish or whim; this was the system of our life. But on the enterprise level, everyone working at the plant always knew that the determining factor in the economic policy is the director and the administration. The party committee there does not engage in economic matters. I myself worked for a long period as a secretary of the shop floor party committee. I worked for a long time as a secretary of the plant's party committee. People came to the party committee with only one request: Please, help. They wanted help to deal with an overzealous administrator, or help to solve some problem. I have never heard of anyone coming in and saying that I interfered in their work. The party worker's satisfaction comes from the people who are coming to him all the time with their troubles, their needs, their pains, and with their own views on problems. People are always drawn to the party secretary if they respect him—always. We also have callous people with no soul among Communists, but this does not just happen only among Communists; the democrats, socialists, and non-party people can be like this, too. This is just a slice of society. Usually the best people are selected for the party. They are more influential and more receptive to the people's needs.

[Reporter] Valentin Aleksandrovich, you had a meeting with the RSFSR president on Tuesday. A detailed account has been published, but it would be interesting to hear from you personally. How would you evaluate this meeting? On what points did your views coincide, and on what points did you disagree?

[Kuptsov] I would characterize it as a very businesslike, constructive, and—to a certain extent—even comradely meeting. We are both men of industry. Boris Nikolayevich is a man of industry and I am a man of industry. He has done his work as a secretary and first secretary of an oblast party committee and I have done my time as a first secretary. He knows life below very well and I know it very well. We also know the life of labor collectives and party organisations inside out. Therefore, we talked with total understanding of each other and about the problems that are arising today in the republics and in the regions.

Second, this meeting was in the offing for some time. It was due because we need to remove the tension between the party structures within Russia and the state structures. Therefore, I made this a goal. I received complete understanding on the part of Boris Nikolayevich. He met us halfway on the issue that we need to establish business contacts and look for ways of resolving the issues that occur.

Third, there are our aims. Today the Russian president is making statements and has shown by his actions that he is in favor of Russia's sovereignty and of the rebirth of Russia. At the end of it all, he is for the rebirth of our nation. We are also in favor of this. It is also the policy of the CPSU and the Russian Communist Party. Therefore, our common final aims are one and the same. They are the development of the republics, a way out of the crisis, political and economic stabilization, and the resolution of problems connected with our ethnic problems. We have different approaches, because on some issues we see the problems and ways of tackling them in our own way. We need to explain this to each other and find some form of contact.

I would like to note that we are taking this step with the realization that the actual situation in Russia has changed. A president has been elected by the people. He received the majority of votes. We lost the elections. Our Communist candidates lost. We need to acknowledge this. We need to face up to reality and not live under pressure for five years.

Taking into account the fact that we have the same overall aims—the rebirth of Russia, the renewal of Russia, a way out of the crisis—I did believe and I do believe that we must find a way for the Communist Party to take part in the progressive changes that are taking place in the republic. We have agreed on many of the principle issues in which the Russian Communist Party will cooperate with the state structures. These contacts will be permanent, not only at this level, but at the level of the government and the Supreme Soviet. We have agreed that we will actively help and implement everything that the president intends to do and is doing in the interests of people. This includes the resolution of social problems, social programs, the agricultural complex, the development of the economy, and adding new ideas to the sovereignty of Russia. Therefore, we had a very long discussion on a very broad range of issues. I am satisfied with the meeting. Boris Nikolayevich has told me that he is also satisfied with our first contact.

[Reporter] How can the position of the RSFSR Communist Party be characterized at present in relation to the current state republican authorities?

[Kuptsov] At the moment, the situation is very strange. We have a majority, so to speak, with the number of Communists, even in the Supreme Soviet I would say, but insofar as the elections were not conducted with a multiparty list of candidates, then I evaluate our position at the Supreme Soviet level in such a way that we are not the ruling party here. We need to acknowledge this and understand this, and we should not make a tragedy out of this.

Now, are we the opposition or aren't we the opposition? We do not have an accurate understanding of why opposition is seen as some sort of destructive force that only aims to do some sort of harm. We need to get away from this concept. An opposition can be a constructive opposition. This is the task that we set ourselves at the Supreme Soviet level—to be a constructive opposition. That is to say, the opposition also provides a type of cooperation, a search for compromise, and a search for ways to resolve issues. The way things stand at present, if this does not happen, then we can blockade any draft that goes to the Russian Congress of People's Deputies. But we cannot live with this dead end policy. Therefore, our position at Supreme Soviet level—first and foremost—is one of constructive opposition and the search for compromise.

We have built up a fairly large store of experience in this now, so we would like to see our form of cooperation in these terms. This entails our participation in working out draft laws and on our initiatives, as we have been given the right to put forward initiatives on draft laws. It mean standing up for our positions on conciliation committees in various other bodies and defining our position at the congress, as well as expressing this position for people.

There are some things on which we cannot agree with the state bodies, but this does not mean that we will use illegal methods. We will prove that we are right. Then we will make our position clear to people and let the people themselves decide who is right and who is wrong. In other words, the forms of cooperation, or our understanding of cooperation at the level of a meeting point for the Communist Party and state structures, is a constructive position and a search for ways of resolving problems.

[Reporter] Valentin Aleksandrovich, preparations are going on for the new Union treaty. One of the most important tasks of this treaty is to define the new order for dividing authority between the center and the localities. In your view, what should the order be for this?

[Kuptsov] These questions have already been discussed. The principles of cessation have been determined in it and there is probably no need now for me to offer recommendations because everything has been already decided. The basis of the republic has been established. The republics authorize the center, and the center is preserved, albeit with considerably reduced rights and functions. The ministries will be transferred or new ones created to carry out the all-Union functions. These are the issues of defense and security.

As I understand it, there should be a single system of credits, all our currency and customs operations should be united if we want to see our Union as a powerful state, as it is now considered to be. At the same time, for everything that concerns the functioning of the republics, all the functions should be transferred to them. Each republic does not just declare its sovereignity but is responsible for the functioning of the whole complex of its national economy. This process will not be easy. Just a simple transfer of the enterprises and organizations under the jurisdiction of the republics, in my opinion, is not yet fully substantiated. The problems, after all, still remain. The collectives that came under the jurisdiction of the republics are still working as badly as the Union enterprises, because the economy is in a critical state. In every sphere there is a drop in production volume. We are redistributing rather than producing.

The question of increasing the production of goods has been dropped altogether. Therefore, while dividing the functions between the center and the republics, we should find acceptable forms for the center's functions and the way it is to be represented to the world. This is one of the central tasks, otherwise no one in the world will deal with us as with a great power.

On the other hand, full sovereignity should be given to the economic and political life of the republics.

[Reporter] Valentin Aleksandrovich, thank you very much for the time you have given us. Let me wish you success in your work.

[Kuptsov] Thank you. I am happy to cooperate with the editorial board. Taking this opportunity, I would like to address the Communists of the republic: Let us keep our endurance under these difficult and hard conditions. Let us not make hasty conclusions in the party organizations or among the Communists and their leaders so that we can clearly perceive our goals. We would like to enjoy more support for our actions. What is most important, a party organization should constantly see to the people's needs and concern itself with the people's needs. This is how I see the meaning of the party organization's life. The work of the party's central committee, as well as my work as its first secretary, will be directed toward this.

[Reporter] All the best to you.

Deputies Request Postponement of Treaty Signing

OW1408231591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday Boris Yeltsin received the 20 RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies who had signed an appeal to the RSFSR President to postpone the signing of the Union treaty pending its approval by Russia's Supreme Soviet.

"We are largely satisfied with the president's explanations and we will not insist on changing the signing schedule," said RSFSR people's deputy Vladimir Novikov after the meeting to a group of Soviet journalists. Following the meeting, the deputies consented not to interfere with the signing process but they had not been turned around.

Novikov emphasized that though the Union treaty contains a provision making it effective since the moment of signing, the treaty will be subject to ratification at the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies, and may run into difficulties. The treaty may collide with the Russian Constitution, noted Novikov, and it must therefore garner two thirds of the vote, "and it is not very difficult to find a third of the congress deputies who will be displeased with the treaty".

Deputies Rescind Request

LD1408224891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin had a meeting today with Russian deputies who were demanding that the signing of the Union treaty be postponed. We are in the main satisfied with the president's explanation and will not insist on changing the date for the signing of the treaty, one of those participating said at the end of the meeting.

KGB Denies Obstructing Congress Participants

LD1408175991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1702 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 14 Aug (TASS)—In connection with some media reports about obstacles allegedly being created by the KGB for the delegates of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic congress of the compatriots trying to enter the USSR, the USSR KGB public relations center has been authorized to make an official statement about such allegations being completely groundless. Moreover, within the framework of preparations for the said congress all measures necessary to provide unimpeded entry for the official congress delegates and guests have been taken by the state security organs within their sphere of competence.

Yeltsin Addresses Trade Union Federation Leaders

PM1408152391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by I. Yelistratov: "Out of the 'School of Communism' Into the School of Life"]

[Text] The Russian president has met with representatives and leaders of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia.

It was thought that the meeting would be very tense, and the blame for that lay with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's Decree on the Departyization of State Enterprises and Establishments. As people will know, the decree received a mixed response not only in party (CPSU) structures but among many trade union leaders, who saw it as a threat to their activity, which loses all point outside the production sphere.

And the problem does not reside just in the inadequate attention to detail in the wording of the paragraph in the decree concerning trade unions, which is indeed susceptible of different interpretations. There is also the problem that some leaders were quick to make use of this and began expelling from "their" enterprises trade union committees which had become highly intractable in recent years. One such example was cited by Independent Trade Union Federation leader I. Klochkov: The director of a Rostov enterprise forbade the accountants to...deduct trade union dues. There were other examples, and even a special elucidation offered by S. Shakhray, RSFSR presidential adviser on legal questions, did not help—those who need to do so are interpreting the decree in their own way. So the participants in the meeting were perfectly well able to demand the appropriate explanations from Boris Yeltsin.

The president, however, did not tempt providence, and after providing a brief report on the progress and results of his trip to Tyumen Oblast (11 takeoffs and landings and a host of problems which have not been solved and are not being tackled) he literally said the following: I will not alter the decree. And added: "There will very soon be a special decree on trade unions and their place in Russia." The hall began to buzz with approval and the meeting switched into a calm, businesslike gear.

There was much to talk about. The trade union federation leader persistently stressed in his speech the idea that trade unions should develop civilized forms of relations with the state structures of power and legislation.

That is no easy matter. Trade unions which have broken free from party supervision and acquired independence should now make their position clear. Many opinions were expressed—there was even the suggestion that a trade union representative be put on the Presidential Council or into other organs of state power. Boris Yeltsin, after jokingly proposing that he "apply for the job," did nevertheless firmly turn down the idea, explaining that trade unions interlocked with the directive-issuing state organs is a piece of sociopolitical nonsense.

Trade unions have a great deal to do. The Russian Government and president were presented with a whole series of demands. These include getting down very quickly to drawing up and concluding new wage rate agreements in order that the need to wring wage rises out of the government should fall away. This question was the subject of discussion: Enterprises are seeking autonomy, and consequently the right also to set wages themselves. Boris Yeltsin remarked in this regard that the time is not far off when the government will structure its relations with production solely via the tax and benefit system and laws on working people's social protection. "Get used to the term 'employer' and working with him." There will be no more centralized wages handed down from above any more—the market does not recognize such orders. In this situation, incidentally, the position of sector trade unions, whose representatives were sitting in the hall, does become more complicated. Sector ministries are seeing out their last days, and those which remain will considerably alter their functions, they will change from dictators into coordinators, from whom the trade unions will "seek to extract" benefits and concessions for working people, will they not? All work will go down to the grass roots, the collectives, and the "employer-trade union-worker" nexus will operate there. Much will change; however, it became clear as the meeting progressed that not everyone has fully grasped this. There were attempts to "cry on the shoulder" of the president and requests that he "give," "assign," and "face up." A representative of the mining and metallurgical trade union started criticizing the Law on Privatization, stating that it contains paragraphs which are protested by workers. But when asked which ones in particular, he was unable to reply.

And the actual progress of the exchange of opinions and the content of the speeches made you think that the trade unions, having fled from the lessons of the "school of communism," are only beginning to seek fulcrums whereby they can apply their own efforts and are seeking to become that very force of the working people's social protection which the Russian Communist Party so tenaciously aspires to today.

On the same day the RSFSR president announced the decision to hold the election of heads of local administration in November-December. And the first 15 representatives of the Russian president in oblasts, krays, and republics will be appointed very soon. The range of their duties has been defined pretty closely: the explanation of presidential decrees and help in implementing them, information about the state of affairs at local level, and noninterference in the actions of local executive power. The "eye of the state" is a perfectly appropriate description for such a post. Without any irony whatsoever.

S. Stankevich, RSFSR presidential adviser on relations with public and party organizations, and G. Burbulis, Russian secretary of state, were introduced to the meeting's participants.

Rutskoy Meets 'Young Communists' Faction

LD1508080191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 14 Aug (TASS)—Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Vice President Aleksandr

Rutskoy today met representatives of the "Faction of Young Communists" in the Republic's Supreme Soviet.

Party youth—and they are mainly Komsomol leaders—told of their movement's aims and tasks. In their view it is necessary to create inside the Communist Party an official faction, which will occupy itself with youth problems. In saying this the representatives of the "Young Communists" claimed that they do not set out to act in opposition to the party, but on the contrary, in interaction with the Komsomol to assist the implementation of reforms aimed at the democratization of society.

The participants in the meeting asked for support for their movement. The vice president, as they say, gave his blessing.

Democratic Communists Reject Communist Party Line

PM1308105691 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Aug 91 p 2

[Statement signed by members of Democratic Party of Communists of Russia (DPCR) Council, under the general heading "Irregular Expulsions": "In the DPCR Council"]

[Text] The founding conference of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia [DPCR] prompted a hasty and unjust reaction from official party structures. The day after it ended, with regrettable haste, the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat, before it had even received the conference documents (which are still at the stage of finalization and formal presentation), issued a statement declaring its decisions to be "ultra vires" and its documents "invalid."

On 6 August the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee Plenum adopted a lengthy decision on the results of the conference and "expelled from the CPSU" A.V. Rutskoy, chairman of the organizing committee, and V.S. Lipitskiy, member of the organizing committee.

In this connection we consider it necessary to state the following:

1. We do not recognize the powers of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee to decide questions relating to membership of the CPSU. The RSFSR Communist Party leadership is not entitled to act as judges with regard to Communists who do not belong to the party it heads.

2. The DPCR was created by CPSU members who are concerned for the fate of the democratic renewal of Russia and support the reformist ideas of the draft new CPSU program.

3. In the organizational period announced by the conference, preparations have begun for the first DPCR congress. All instances of opposition or persecution of DPCR supporters on the part of official RSFSR Communist Party structures must be reported immediately to the DPCR Council.

4. The DPCR is an RSFSR organization within the CPSU. It has been formed in accordance with the fundamental principles of the CPSU Statutes (Article 22), and there are therefore no formal grounds for expelling DPCR members from the CPSU. It is quite obvious that conservative circles in the present leadership structures of the RSFSR Communist Party and the CPSU are trying to intimidate and put pressure on all those Communists who, like the members of the DPCR, advocate the implementation of the Russian President's Decree on Departyization, the return of unjustly acquired party property to the people, and the recognition of the party leadership's policy in past decades as antipopular in its main manifestations. It is quite obvious that it is a question of an attempt at vengeance on democratic Communists for their firm support for radical reforms in society and the party and for Yeltsin and Rutskoy in the Russian presidential elections, a patent attempt to take revenge for the crushing election defeat which we, together with other democratic forces, inflicted on the conservative-reactionary candidates supported by the RSFSR Communist Party, Makashov, Sergeyev, Ryzhkov, and Gromov.

But spite and vindictiveness are poor counselors in politics. Even the self-preservation instinct is not functioning among the apparatchiks in the leading party structures. They do not recognize the simple fact that by expelling from the party a man in whom the majority of people of Russia have just placed their trust, and by expelling his supporters, they are first and foremost expelling themselves—from the people.

5. The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, by replacing its first secretary and seeking to don democratic colors, has not changed its reactionary political orientation in the slightest. It still gives its blessing to the neo-Stalinist platforms of Nina Andreyeva and the "initiative group," to the ideas of the authors of the provocative "Appeal to the People" which called for civil disobedience and was signed by a number of RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee leaders, and to the desire for reprisals against dissidence.

We draw the attention of the party general secretary and all supporters of the CPSU's reformist wing to the fact that the desire to expel the democratic section of the party has an obvious goal—to severely weaken the party's reformist and intellectual potential and wreck the draft program presented by the Program Commission at the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum. This course of events can only result in the CPSU's final transformation into a reactionary conservative organization expressing the interests of apparatus-bureaucratic party structures and having no support among the people.

6. We call on those who share our views not to yield to the conservatives' pressure, to support the formation of

the DPCR, to organize work to form territorial primary organizations and prepare for the first DPCR congress and the 29th CPSU Congress, and to participate in the organization, formation, and activity of the Movement for Democratic Reforms.

The DPCR is not a party of communist doctrine, it is the party of the program for the democratic extrication of Russia from the crisis. We call on you to join our party.

[Signed] Council members: V.M. Adrov, RSFSR people's deputy; Kh.A. Bekov, rector of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification All-Union Institute for Improving the Qualifications of Leadership Workers; V.V. Bezuglov, senior scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Bioorganic Chemistry; Yu.G. Borisov, first secretary of Moskvoretskiy CPSU Raykom [Rayon Committee], Moscow; I.V. Vinogradova, RSFSR people's deputy; G.G. Vodolazov, professor at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Contemporary Social Problems; A.A. Ikonnikov, RSFSR people's deputy and member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet; A.A. Ipatov, senior teacher at the Tank Troops Academy; A.A. Kiselev, USSR people's deputy and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet; V.S. Nikishin, president of the "Cooperation and Creation" Association; V.G. Ozirnyy, chairman of the board of the "Civil Accord" All-Russian Sociopolitical Movement Council; V.V. Perfilyev, adviser to the RSFSR vice president; and P.A. Fedosov, lecturer at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Contemporary Social Problems.

Kuptsov, Zyuganov Brief Journalists on Plenum

PM1408133091 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[Report by ROSTASS correspondent T. Zamyatina on 7 August Moscow press conference following Russian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum: "Ready To Broaden Cooperation—Post-Plenum Press Conference"]

[Text] Moscow—Newly elected Russian Communist leader V.A. Kuptsov made a request at a 7 August Moscow press conference on the results of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee Plenum that I.K. Polozkov, who over the year that he was first secretary of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee was "constantly hounded by journalists," be granted some privacy.

Correspondents' persistent questions as to why Polozkov—who stated just one month ago that he saw no reason to leave his post—had resigned received an answer about the "courageous step" which the former first secretary had taken in the interests of the party and on his own initiative after consulting with Politburo members.

The press conference organizers reported that three candidates had been put forward at the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Plenum for the post of first secretary, but Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of Moscow party gorkom [city committee], and G.A. Zyuganov, secretary of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee, withdrew their nominations.

In answer to a question on "Kuptsov's style of work" and what he will bring to Communist Party activity from his own life experience, the Central Committee first secretary spoke of his intention to broaden cooperation with other political parties and movements, the Supreme Soviet, the government, and the RSFSR president, and added that in doing this he "would not want to destroy the tradition" of the Russian Communist Party. He remarked on the cohesion and unanimity of the plenum participants when examining the main agenda questions.

G.A. Zyuganov had to answer questions in connection with his signing the published "Appeal to the People." He declared that he signed the appeal not as RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee secretary but as a citizen and made it clear that while complying with Communist Party policy on cooperation with authorities elected by the whole people, he reserves the right to criticize its "unconstitutional actions."

Passionate interest was aroused by the plenum participants' attitude toward the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia [DPCR] and the decision to expel A.V. Rutskoy from the CPSU. In answer to a question from the TASS correspondent on whether this decision corresponds with the CPSU Statutes, according to which the primary organization resolves questions of party membership, V.A. Kuptsov announced that the plenum sent its decision to the primary organization where the RSFSR vice president is on the party register to be examined, and referred to Rutskoy's having ignored the primary organization secretary's requests to come to the party committee session.

I.I. Antonovich, secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, stressed that Communists intending to "follow Rutskoy" must say farewell to the CPSU as membership of two parties is forbidden by the CPSU Statutes. He called the Russian Federation vice president's forecasts of an estimated 5 million supporters for his party "overoptimistic."

Referring to the RSFSR presidential decree on departyization, the press conference organizers noted that this act is being violated by members of the DPCR organizing committee, who are involved with party matters within the walls of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet during working time.

The republic Communist Party Central Committee categorically rejected the claim that the RSFSR Communist Party allegedly opposes the transition to market relations. We are not against the market, they declared, but we are against perverted forms of it; we support constructive and productive enterprise, but not speculative or criminal enterprise.

Gorbachev Marks Tuvinian Revolution Anniversary

LD1508015991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has congratulated the working people of the Soviet Republic of Tuva on an important event—the 70th anniversary of the people's revolution and proclamation of the Tuva People's Republic.

Under the direct influence of the October Revolution, Tuva peasants carried out a people's revolution in 1921 for the first time in their centuries-old history, and created a people's state. The recognition of the Tuva state by Soviet Russia, and the provision of utmost aid to it, had great significance. The Soviet people, and in the first place the Russian people, assisted with all means in establishing the Tuva economy, training national cadres, and developing national culture. The transformation of the Tuva Autonomous Oblast in the Tuva ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] in 1961 gave the Tuva peoples additional legal foundations in economic and cultural construction.

When the declaration on Tuva state sovereignty was adopted in December 1990, the Republic acquired a state status in resolving all issues of its development; it becomes the founder of the Union, its plenipotentiary member, and likewise acquires the rights and state responsibilities following from it. The USSR president wished success to the working people of the Republic in its socioeconomic and cultural development.

Belorussia

People's Front Rejects Union Treaty

LD1508032991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Belorussian 1923 GMT 14 Aug

[Text] (?Setting) the date—although, as it seems, a conditional one—for signing the Union treaty by the republics for 20 August 1991 can be described as one of the most important political events in the Soviet Union, as well as in Belorussia. In this connection the Belorussian People's Front opposition in the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia has adopted a statement:

It is clear that the main condition of existence for our people is the freedom and independence of the Belorussian state. The vital interests of people depend on whether Belorussia will be a sovereign republic or a Soviet colony in [word indistinct]. Neither the transfer to the market nor any radical economic reforms will be realized; neither rescue from the aftermath of the Chernobyl catastrophe nor improvement in life will come until Belorussia has state independence and the Belorussian people—their work, land, and resources—are no longer exploited by the communist bureaucracy, appropriated and wasted by the Soviet Union. The people are facing the choice: either state independence, freedom, and the market, or continuation of colonial exploitation, and total national and social degeneration. It is clear that in such a case Belorussia, just as during the previous two centuries, will stay a zone of trenches— this time as a hostage in the aggressive strategy of the empire.

The investments which the Soviet Union will distribute will, as usual, go to the Russian political pocket of the Kremlin and its region. However, we are living in a time when the Bolshevik empire is falling to pieces, deprived of its main attribute: barbed wire. Under these conditions the communist nomenklatura in the Union and in the republics is trying to save itself by way of signing between themselves an anti-people agreement. With this aim, a political trick has been proposed of [word indistinct] signing a new union treaty in order to (?bind) the republics by a formal obligation, as the treaty of 1922 under the conditions of the Bolshevik regime was (?forcefully imposed) and unlawful, which is also indirectly admitted by the present Soviet leadership. The draft Union treaty distributed by the Kremlin in its numerous variants is even more imperialistic than the treaty of 1922.

It is not the first time that the opposition deputies from the Belorussian People's front are drawing the attention of both deputies and the whole Belorussian people to certain absurdities which took place during the discussion of the draft Union treaty. For example now, when there is less than a week left before the treaty is signed, even the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia have not been presented with the final draft of the treaty. As is known, the Supreme Soviet has voted for the treaty to be signed blindfold. Speaking figuratively: to buy a cat in a sack.

The Belorussian People's Front deputies' opposition in the Belorussian parliament believes that each intelligent Belorussian citizen must fight fthe or independence of the Republic, do everything to spoil the plan of the imperial bureaucracy, and prevent the signing a new Union treaty.

The leadership of the Belorussian People's Front adopted a statement today on the union treaty which in its political part fully coincides with the statement of the deputies' opposition. The statement also says that the people are to sign the treaty and that they will carry personal responsibility for betraying the interests of Belorussia and its people. All the [word indistinct] will lie on the Belorussian parliament if the deputies keep silent. At the same time a treaty not sanctioned by the people cannot be competent. The leadership of the Belorussian People's Front has called on Belorussian society, political parties, the work movement, intellectual and creative circles, and people's deputies to express actively and jointly their protest against the treacherous anti- people policy of communists.

It has been decided that meetings between the opposition deputies of the Belorussian parliament and voters will take place on the main square in front of the Minsk governmental building on 15, 16 and 20 August. They will talk about the unlawfulness and anti-people character of the signing of the treaty by the Belorussian leadership.

Ukraine

Foreign Affairs Ministry Holds Briefing

LD1408230291 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Today, 13 August, a briefing took place at the Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Dmytro Ponamarchuk, editor of Radio Kiev, reports:

[Begin recording] [Ponamarchuk] At the beginning of the briefing, Viktor Nahaychuk, the leader of the press center of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, summarized the official four-day visit to the Ukraine by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky. In particular he noted:

[Nahaychuk] [passage omitted] You know that our relations with Hungary are a very interesting phenomenon. If you talk about the bilateral diplomacy of the Ukraine, we have the most appreciable achievements in the Hungarian sphere. We believe this visit confirmed once again that despite the uncertainty of the Ukraine's situation as regards signing the Union treaty [words indistinct], Hungary pursues the line of establishing and developing bilateral relations with our republic fairly consistently and purposefully. [passage indistinct]

[Ponamarchuk] Viktor Nahaychuk reported that [words indistinct] from 26 to 28 August, Guido de Marco, minister of foreign affairs of Malta and the chairman of the 46th session of the UN General Assembly, will be visiting Kiev at the invitation of the Government of Ukraine. During negotiations with the leadership of the Ukraine he will touch upon the subject of the Ukraine's participation in the work of the UN General Assembly session. Prospects for the development of Ukrainian-Maltese relations will also be discussed. I point out that Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, is to deliver a speech at this session.

The coordinating council of representatives of ministries of foreign affairs of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and other republics, and also the USSR, on issues of the agenda of the 46th session of the UN General Assembly will also take place in Kiev from 26 to 27 August during the visit by Guido de Marco. Similar consultations took place earlier with representatives of foreign policy departments of former socialist countries taking part. Such a practice has been (?preserved) and now initiatives and propositions for the UN General Assembly session are discussed within the narrow circle of representatives of the republics that are members of the USSR at present.

When answering one of the questions, Viktor Nahaychuk informed journalists that Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, received an invitation to take part in the fourth conference of heads of states for the defense of peace, which is due to take place from 24 to 29 August this year in South Korea. However, the issue of Leonid Kravchuk's participation in this conference is not yet settled. A separate announcement will be made about this. [end recording]

Minister, Enterprise Heads Discuss Conversion

LD1408232291

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian at 0500 GMT on 14 August carries a report on a meeting on 13 August "in the Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers with leaders of enterprises of the republic's machine-building complex and of sciencific and research institutes. Viktor Ivanovich Antonov, Ukraine's state minister on questions of the defense complex and conversion, conducted the meeting."

Reporter Valeriy Sydorenko notes: "The republic's machine-building sector is in a poor state. A slump in production, ties broken with long-established suppliers, and non-fulfillment of inter-republican economic agreements are having a negative effect on the work of 1,350 republican enterprises belonging to this sector. A further problem is whether to be under Union or republican jurisdiction. This meeting set out to tackle such issues. Antonov briefed meeting participants on the strategy to get the republic's economy out of the crisis. The strategy is outlined in the Cabinet of Ministers' anticrisis program, which is already being put into effect. The efficient work of the machine-building sector is an important part of this program. Meeting participants noted that potential exists in the republic to ensure that the sector works well and plays its part in the anticrisis program in producing agricultural and medical equipment and consumer goods. A main direction is not to purchase equipment from abroad, but to get good ideas in the republic to the conveyor belt stage. Measures will be taken to help enterprises to do this."

Sydorenko interviews Antonov, who notes: "This familiarization conference with the machine-building sector enterprise leaders was convened to tell these leaders that yes, today all industrial enterprises are under the jurisdiction of Ukrainian law. I believe that in a short space of time all of this will also be defined as the property of the people of the Ukraine. We set out clearly that there must be cooperation between the government and these enterprises. We do not intend to govern harshly. There will not be directive-type methods of leadership."

Unions To Hold United Action in Support of Rights

LD1408231291 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] A majority of industrial and territorial trade union associations support the decision of the presidium of the Federation Council of Independent Trade Unions of the Ukraine to hold days of united trade union actions in defense of the rights and interests of working people of sovereign Ukraine in the republic from 1 September 1991.

The most important problems that require immediate solution are being defined in trade union committees and councils. They will be discussed at gatherings and meetings during the event. Professional centers of the republic, which are not part of the federation, and newly created public organizations of working people, in particular the Independent Trade Union of Miners of the Ukraine, the Kiev City Council of Sotsprof [socialist trade unions], the Union of Working People of Kiev for Perestroyka, the All-Ukrainian Association of Solidarity of Working People, and the Federation of Trade Unions of Employees of Cooperatives and Other Forms of Free Enterprises support the initiative of the Federation of the Independent Trade Unions to hold this event. A draft platform on the priority tasks of Ukrainian trade unions on defending the social and economic interests of the working people during the transition to the market was discussed at the meeting of representatives of these organizations in the Federation Council of the Independent Trade Unions of the Ukraine.

Sugar Deliveries to Moscow 'Unsatisfactory'

LD1408120191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Report by correspondent L. Lashchenko; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Standing in line for something sweet, pondering our bitter, bitter life: Managing to buy sugar with vouchers in Moscow today is cause for great happiness.

It is not available everywhere, and if it is available then one must stand for it for several hours. How long has there been no sugar?

[Begin recording] [Unidentified store clerk] Almost two months.

[R.V.Kamanina, head of Mosgortorg's foodstuffs department] Moscow itself produces 10 percent of its sugar, while 90 percent is brought in; the Ukraine is our main supplier, and for the last seven months the Ukraine has been sending sugar to Moscow in an unsatisfactory manner. Over the seven months, the Ukraine has failed to send 150,000 tons to Moscow. We appealed to all levels, including the union president, stating that until the end of the year Moscow needs to purchase 100,000 tons of imported sugar. However, only 52,000 tons have been bought. Realistically, according to our estimates, we will only receive 16,650 tons.

[Lashchenko] What are people to do with their vouchers for July and August?

[Kamanina] A decision has now been made to extend the validity of these vouchers—almost until the end of the year—because those 52,000 tons will, nevertheless, arrive in Moscow, we think, around September to the beginning of October.

[Lashchenko] When is it that the sweet life will begin for us? [end recording]

New Grain Payment Procedures Established

PM1408141591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, IAN, REUTER, AFP roundup: "Ukrainian Government Increases Grain Prices...."]

[Text] The Ukrainian Government has established a new procedure for paying for the sale of grain to the state. Up to 70 percent of the average annual amount of grain is paid for at the prices in effect. A 50-percent price markup applies to the remaining 30 percent. Grain in excess of the plan is paid for at stock exchange evaluations, INTERFAX reports.

Moldova

New Privatization Law Introduced

LD1408160391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1145 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Kishinev, 14 Aug (TASS)— The law "On Privatization" is published in the republican mass media of the Republic of Moldova today. According to a report by the MOLDOVA-PRES agency, it defines the procedure for alienating state property to the ownership of citizens and their associations.

The law notes that the main principles of the process of privatization are "to guarantee the population's social protection, and to take account of the opinion of the labor collective of the privatized facility, the equality of citizens' rights to receive their share of the property, the alienation of state property both on a paid and an unpaid basis."

The legislative act defines the spheres and facilities which are to be privatized and also the individual or corporate persons acquiring state property. In particular, the MOLDOVA-PRES agency stresses, these may be citizens of the republic, and both foreign legal persons and citizens who may acquire state property facilities for currency. Citizens of the republic may conclude this deal by using personal savings and bank credits. However, government public property bonds [bon narodnogo dostoyaniya—PPB] of the Republic of Moldova will be the main means for acquiring state property. They will be issued to every citizen of the republic, taking into account his total length of service, qualifications and a number of other circumstances. The law stipulates that "PPBs are payable to a person named and cannot be transferred except in cases when they are transferred to the next of kin. The length of time for acquiring state property under a PPB is restricted to two years from the time of issue." When this time limit is up, the state property may be privatized on a competitive basis or through holding auctions and selling shares for the privatized enterprise.

According to the parliament's resolution, the law came into force as soon as it was published. A state department for privatization has already been formed. It has been called on to coordinate these complex processes.

1991 Interethnic Conflict Casualties Reach 935

OW1308155691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the statistics of the command of the Transcaucasian Military District, 290 people have been killed and 645 wounded in interethnic conflicts in Southern Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh and on the Armenian-Azerbaijan border in this year alone.

Georgia

Paper Reports New Republic Laws, Resolutions

AU1408165291 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 26 July 1991 p 1

[Report by SAKINFORM parliamentary correspondents Paata Tsintsadze and Eduard Ediberidze: "Session of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia"; date and place not given]

[Text] On 25 July, a regular meeting of the first session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council's first convocation was held under the chairmanship of Akakiy Asatiani, chairman of the Supreme Council.

President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, members of the government, and prefects of the republic's towns and rayons took part in the work of the session.

During the ratification of the agenda published in the press and broadcast by radio and television, [two] additional questions were included in it—on the interpretation of Article 75 of the Republic of Georgia Constitution, on the creation of provisional organs of government on the territory of the town of Tskhinvali and Dzhava rayon, and on the Law on Introducing Changes and Additions into the Law on the Procedure for Recalling Supreme Council Members. At the same time, the question of holding elections in the town of Signakhi was removed from the agenda.

Prior to the discussion of the questions, Deputy Vazha Adamia, chairman of the all-Georgian Merab Kostava Society, made a speech on behalf of the society. He refuted the facts [as published], which were quoted in the report published in the 19 July issue of the TAVISUPALI SAKARTVELO newspaper with regard to the activity of the Marneuli rayon prefect and demanded that a parliamentary commission be created to establish the truth.

Guram Absandze, deputy chairman of the government and minister of the economy and finance, dealt with the first question on the agenda—the Law on the State Budget of the Republic of Georgia for 1991, and considered to be an emergency one for the second part of the year. Gamsakhurdia took part in the exchange of opinions among the deputies. He made a thorough analysis of the factors that caused the difficult situation in the economy and called upon the government to take decisive measures for stabilizing the situation. The Supreme Council authorized the government to submit a specific program for actions as soon as possible.

The floor was then given to Givi Taktakishvili, chairman of the Supreme Council's Permanent Commission on Economic Reform. He offered for the deputies' consideration a draft law on the principles of entrepreneurship, a law into which significant additions were introduced after it was approved on first reading at the session's previous meeting. After discussing these additions, the Supreme Council adopted the law and the resolution on its implementation.

The bill on employment offered for discussion by Tamaz Gugushvili, minister of labor, social protection, and demography of the Republic of Georgia, generated heated debate. Teymuraz Koridze, Tariyel Gelantia, and Robert Petriashvili, chairmen of the Supreme Council's permanent commissions, and other deputies, as well as Tengiz Sigua, chairman of the republic's government, took part in the debates. After a comprehensive exchange of opinions, the Law on Employment was adopted. The Law on Introducing Corresponding Amendments into the Republic of Georgia Constitution and a resolution on the implementation of this law were also adopted.

The Supreme Council discussed and adopted the republic laws on the general principles of the taxation system and on foreign investments and their protection, as well as resolutions on their implementation.

On the recommendation of Tedo Paatashvili, chairman of the Supreme Council's Permanent Foreign Relations Commission, the deputies adopted the law on the signing, ratification, fulfillment, and denouncement of international treaties by the Republic of Georgia. The law became effective immediately upon its adoption. At the same meeting, after a proposal by Gamsakhurdia, a resolution was adopted on Georgia joining the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty signed 1 July 1968. The Supreme Council turned to the Parliaments of Armenia and Azerbaijan with a proposal to follow its example in order to make a step toward declaring the Transcaucasian Region a nuclear-free zone. It was also resolved at the meeting to ratify the Agreement on Friendship and Good-Neighborly Relations Between the Republic of Georgia and the Azerbaijan Republic that was recently signed in Tbilisi.

In reply to the appeal by the USSR Supreme Soviet to the supreme councils of those republics which refused to sign the Union treaty, the Georgian parliamentarians approved a letter to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The letter emphasizes the republic's efforts to maintain ties with the USSR on a qualitatively new basis involving equal and mutually advantageous interstate relations. Proceeding from this, Georgia's readiness to sit at the negotiating table with the USSR was reiterated.

On the recommendation by Justice Minister Dzhoni Khetsuriani, the Law on Introducing Changes and Additions Into the Republic of Georgia Constitution was adopted. The Supreme Council resolution on the interpretation of Article 75 of the republic's Main Law was also adopted.

The Supreme Council discussed the question related to the statement previously made by a group of deputies on certain financial violations. It was decided to create a parliamentary-governmental commission, which will be in charge of formulating corresponding recommendations in regard to writing off overdue bank debts from agricultural, foodstuffs, and processing industry enterprises.

The decision to create provisional organs of government in the person of prefects for the town of Tskhinvali and Dzhava rayon was adopted, as well as the Law on Introducing Changes and Additions Into the Law on the Procedure for Recalling Members of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council.

A resolution was adopted on the abolishment of the Supreme Council Press Center and the Center for Forecasting and Information, transferring their positions to the office of the president.

An answer to the inquiry made by Deputy Nodar Natadze on 28 June on sending prisoners outside the territory of Georgia was given by Merab Rapava, chief of the republican Interior Ministry Administration.

The regular meeting of the session thus concluded its work.

[Signed] Paata Tsintsadze and Eduard Ediberidze, SAKINFORM parliamentary correspondents.

Call for Gamsakhurdia Resignation 'A Sensation'

PM1408144391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Aug 91 p 1

[Unattributed report under general headline: "Letters From Georgia"]

[Text] It has become clear at the latest Georgian Supreme Soviet session that Nodar Natadze and his faction, which comprises 11 people, is not the only opposition group in the republic Parliament. Similar tendencies were also revealed within the "Roundtable" bloc, whose members occupy 155 of the 250 parliamentary seats. The so-called "Rounds" are noted for their strong party discipline and they usually vote unanimously for the decisions of their leaders—President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and Supreme Soviet Chairman Akakiy Asatiani. Therefore the question submitted on the initiative of Vazhi Adamiya about the Supreme Soviet chairman's resignation is being viewed as a sensation.

Popular Front Holds Session, Adopts Declaration

AU1408164391 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1430 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] At the opening session of the Popular Front of Georgia held on 12 August, the political situation in the republic was mainly discussed. [The Popular Front's] Chairman Nodar Natadze drew the attention of the audience to the fact that, in connection with the adoption at the last session of the Georgian Supreme Council of the Law on Political Associations of Citizens and of the Law on Public Associations, the Popular Front has to resolve new tasks. By a common decision of the meeting, the word "public" was removed from item one of the movement's statutes, and the item was formulated as follows: The Georgian Popular Front is a nationwide political movement.

Regarding the discussion of the political situation in the republic, it was pointed out that Georgia is lagging behind in the implementation of economic reforms. The Supreme Council is preserving the inefficient management structures that exist in the republic. It was pointed out that the liberal democratic movement is not sufficiently widespread in our republic. The position of the Popular Front was reflected in the adopted declaration.

Government Hands Over Party History Building

LD1308174691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Text] The Government of Georgia has handed over the building of the Institute of Party History which belongs to the republic's Communist Party to the Center for the National and Political History and Theory. The leadership of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee believes that this step aggravates the situation in the republic even further. Mikeladze, the first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, proposed to the republic's President Gamsakhurdia the establishment of a bilateral competent commission for asking the best legal way to solve the problem.

South Ossetian Council Rejects Georgian Order

OW1208225691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1430 GMT 12 Aug 91

["Southern Ossetia expresses discontent of the Georgia's dictatorship"; item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the information from the capital of southern Ossetia an Extraordinary Session of the City Council was urgently convened because of the order from Georgia to appoint a new man to the post of the City Interior Department leader. The Deputy Interior Minister of Georgia, Epitashvili, who came there on August 9, informed the local authorities that Gazzayev, former school director, is appointed to that post.

This appointment was badly taken by the local authorities and the public of southern Ossetia, who saw provocation of the Georgian side in this matter. On the same day, August 9, Gazzayev was kidnapped by strangers and his location is unknown till the present moment.

The Extraordinary Session of the City Council described the mentioned order of the Georgian Interior Ministry as groundless and the former leader was not removed.

Israel's Jewish Agency Chairman Meets Officials

TA1408133191 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1200 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] The Government of Soviet Georgia again announced that it will allow the Jewish Agency to operate in the republic. The decision was made on the eve of the visit of Jewish Agency chairman Simha Dinitz to Georgia. Dinitz arrived in Tbilisi yesterday and met with the prime minister and foreign minister of Georgia. They promised him that the Georgian Government will fully assist the Jewish Agency office, which has been operating for some time in the city. The office coordinates the Jewish Agency activities in Georgia and in other Asian republics.

According to OVIR, the Soviet Office of Visas and Registration, the number of young Jews emigrating to Israel is rising.

Armenia

Report on Hostages From Internal Affairs Troops

LD1408133191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1230 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Excerpts] We have just received two reports from Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO]. One, issued by TASS, says that an alarming situation is developing around the Armenian village of Aterk, in Mardakertskiy Rayon. [passage omitted]

Further information on this situation has been supplied to us by the (?Lur) information center. At 0700 today, the report says, eight armored personnel carriers opened fire on a Zhiguli car travelling between the Armenian villages of Aterk and Zaglik. One passenger died, and one was wounded. Both were of Armenian nationality. The self-defense forces who arrived on the scene seized all eight armored personnel carriers, one combat vehicle, and 34 servicemen. The hostages are in Aterk.

At 1300 today, an SOS telegram was received from this village, saying the following—I quote: On 14 August, the Armenian village of Aterk, in Mardakertskiy Rayon of Nagorno-Karabakh, was subjected to attack by Azerbaijani OMON [special purpose militia detachment] troops and USSR Interior Ministry troops equipped with armor. This is the way the promises by Pugo, Yazov, Kryuchkov, and Mutalibov that henceforth not one Armenian village would be subjected to so-called passport regulations checks by armed formations with equipment, are being fulfilled. We are sending this telegram from Aterk while we can, as representatives of the internal troops are already in the village. They have occupied various offices, including the post office. The telephonist is working in the presence of two soldiers. Two residents of the village have been taken hostage. In response, the men of Aterk have managed to seize a group of soldiers and OMON troops. Officers insist that the orders for the village to be seized were given by Yanayev and Gromov. Urgent intervention by the center is needed.

31 Interior Troops Held Hostage

OW1408183291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] After last Monday the military had detained Georgiy Petrosyan, a resident of the village of Aterk, Mardakert District, Nagorno-Karabakh, for carrying an assault rifle, 31 USSR Interior Ministry troops servicemen including one commissioned officer were taken hostage at that village.

At the current juncture, says INTERFAX, the village's self-defense systems say the release of the military hostages is conditional on the release of all the Armenians who had lately been captured by the Interior Ministry troops during passport checks.

INTERFAX has learned that Colonel Vilen Martirosyan, a USSR people's deputy, arrived in Nagorno-Karabakh for talks on the hostage issue. It is planned that the Armenian delegation Martirosyan will negotiate with will include chairman of the Armenian defense Council Vazgen Sarkisyan.

Hostage Takers Want Armenians Released

LD1408171791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1631 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Stepanakert, 14 Aug (TASS)—According to the latest information, this afternoon the conditions for the exchange were altered—the leaders of the armed formation are now demanding the release of 15 Armenians who have been arrested over the last three and a half months. The Armenian side has once again confirmed information that they are not allowing any violence to be used against the servicemen who have been seized.

During today, sub-units of the USSR Interior Ministry forces carried out searches for the servicemen, but this has yielded no significant results yet. The forces have not used any weapons. Lieutenant Zhukov, commandant of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] emergency rayon and the neighboring rayons of the Azerbaijani Republic, is in the settlement of Aterk and is conducting talks on freeing the hostages. Everything is being done to avoid bloodshed and to free all the servicemen.

KGB Confirms Troops Taken Hostage

OW1408194491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Azerbaijan KGB's press centre confirmed that on August 13, Armenian guerillas had taken hostage servicemen of the USSR Interior Troops in Mardakert District of Nagorno-Karabakh on August 13. According to the Azerbaijan KGB, the 32 [as received] servicemen did not put up any resistance.

The action was a response to the detention by the military of an armed Armenian guerilla in the village of Aterk of the same district. The guerillas are ready to exchange the hostages for the captured guerilla and four prisoners currently detained at the prison in the town of Shusha.

According to the Azerbaijan Popular Front, at 11:00 [0700 GMT] on August 14, a car belonging to an epidemic-control authority in Dzhebrail District was blown up by a land mine planted by Armenian guerillas in the village of Shaig, Dzhebrail District, Azerbaijan. The driver and a local policeman, both Azeris, received severe injuries.

MVD Rejects Hostage Swap in NKAO

LD1508103291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 15 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert, 15 Aug (TASS)—Another eight people have joined the 33 servicemen of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] who were seized in the village of Aterk in Mardakertskiy Rayon of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]: one officer, two ensigns, and five privates. Their disappearance was discovered on Wednesday. At the moment the armed formation of militants has in its possession 41 servicemen, a large quantity of weapons, and an armored troop carrier. They are demanding that they be exchanged for all Armenians who have been detained over the last three and a half months. Wednesday evening, leaders of the formation conveyed a threat via an intermediary to take the servicemen by helicopter to Armenia if the detained Armenians were not released by 0900 on the 15th August.

The demand of the elders of the village of Aterk to release the servicemen without any conditions did not bear fruit. Attempts by the heads of the commandant's office and local authorities to propose an acceptable resolution of the problem are being rejected.

The TASS correspondent was told by Maj. Gen. Valeriy Starikov, deputy chief of staff of the internal troops of the USSR MVD, that "after agreement with the leadership of the Union MVD and the command of the internal troops it was decided to reject the idea of an exchange of hostages and the immediate release of all the servicemen was demanded. Otherwise responsibility would lie with the leadership of the Republic of Armenia". The deadline of this ultimatum expires at 1400 hours today. Considerable forces of the internal troops of the USSR MVD are being assembled in the district of the village, ready for the operation of releasing the seized servicemen.

Further Coverage of Premier's News Conference

NC1508082491 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Text] Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, gave a news conference on 12 August. The prime minister touched on the socioeconomic problems facing Armenia and the current economic situation.

He considered the 21 September referendum as an important event for the Armenian people. He described it as a starry moment, an exceptional opportunity for the restoration of independence.

But he also stressed that the road to independence would be difficult for Armenia, as it requires the harnessing of our moral, psychological and economic potentials to their utmost limit.

Manukyan noted that in adopting the process of independence, Armenia is not intending to isolate itself or sever its political and particularly its existing economic ties. In Manukyan's opinion, Armenia, in its march towards independence, cannot pin its hopes on the West as allies. The allies of the independence process would above all be those Soviet republics which would not sign the new Union treaty and also those who, while signing the treaty, will maintain mutually advantageous economic ties and advance such ties with the republics gaining independence.

Next, Vazgen Manukyan replied to reporters' questions. Issues pertaining to the government's cadre policy, social security, the situation existing in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, and domestic problems were raised.

Asked if he will seek the presidency, Vazgen Manukyan replied that he will make a statement on this issue on 16 August.

Azerbaijan

Interview With Mutalibov on NKAO Problem

LD1408191491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0516 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Interview with Ayaz Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan, by Mayak correspondents, in Baku—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Today's guest on the Panorama program is the President of Azerbaijan, Ayaz Mutalibov. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Ayaz Niyazovich, throughout the entire Soviet Union there are now an innumerable number of problems, but there are quite a few difficult and painful problems in Azerbaijan, too. If you will allow me, I'll come to that a bit later. For now, the reason why the world and Soviet press are paying most attention to your republic: Virtually each day brings us new victims, exchanges of fire, hostage taking. This has been going on for a very long time, but we must bring all this to an end some time.

[Mutalibov] I am sure that an end has to come to this cruelty and, I would say, senselessness and that is the desire of the peoples, of both peoples. I hope it is not far off. The undeclared war, now in its fourth year, being waged on the territory of Azerbaijan cannot go on any more. Do you know why? Because the public is now discovering what the real causes of this war are. No one now has any doubt that this is a war for territory. However much the initiators of the revamping of borders might try to keep a tight lid on the truth, with their shameless lies and stories, it has crossed the barriers and become public knowledge. The insight which they were so afraid of has come. It has been evident of late in coverage of local events in the Soviet media. Once open-mindedness and objectivity finally triumph, there will be no parallels in the coverage of events, and the organisers of what I would call aggression unprecedented in the history of this country will be brought to a long-awaited halt.

We are trying to initiate positive moves in the [Nagorno-Karabakh] autonomous oblast. There are real forces in the oblast's Armenian community who want to put an end to confrontation and to move from confrontation to dialogue, and this process has started. We have a specific program of action. Our formula for approaching this is simple: The autonomous oblast is an indivisible part of Azerbaijan, and therefore the problems of its citizens have to be resolved by the republic itself. Not in Moscow or Yerevan, but in the autonomous oblast first and foremost, and also in Baku. Any attempts to involve third parties in this have no future. Nor do we have any need of intermediaries of any kind. Having put our house in order, and the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous oblast is part of our house, we will think about ways of restoring good relations directly with Armenia. That is the norm for relations between states. However, I would like to note that the improvement which is taking shape is not to the liking of some people.

Several days ago Grigoryan, a former departmental organizer in the Communist Party's oblast committee, was savagely shot point-blank with an automatic weapon because he was a reasonable man—he was one of those taking part in meetings with me. That is political solution of the issue for you. Terror and debate are, of course, incompatible. There is no alternative to disarming the groups and formations. Unfortunately, some politicians, including certain deputies sometimes suggest that we should sit down at the negotiating table with the terrorists. But that is nonsense. Nonetheless we are confident that, despite the intrigues and machinations, common sense will prevail and we will feel the effects of the end of this tragedy.

[Correspondent] Ayaz Niyazovich, terrorists are terrorists, but there are also Armenia's Government and Parliament and you are neighbors. You need some kind of contacts, some kind of talks—that is vitally important in this difficult situation.

[Mutalibov] Yes, we do have that. We are in contact. All in all, there is an understanding in the process of contacts, that is, some coincidence of positions. But unfortunately, in real life we are not achieving the situation we would like.

[Correspondent] But force of arms is not the way to achieve a peaceful solution to these issues. It is dreadful when the guns do the talking and people are dying.... [link line is lost at this point; after playing a record, the announcer puts Baku back on the line]

[Correspondent] You know, I have to say that I have been working here in Baku for one week and I cannot understand a thing. Every attempt I make to get on the air costs me immense blood and sweat. The link is broken off at intervals. I think the Ministry of Communications should explain why this is happening. Ayaz Niyazovich, you will excuse our technical services for us being hampered in talking on the air, but I still have a very unpleasant question for you.

Of late there have been many reports of deportations of Armenians from Azerbaijan. We have recently come back from the former Shumyanovskiy Rayon, which is now a part of Geranboyskiy Rayon. The people who live there are convinced, sure, that they are being threatened with deportation. Their worries were made even greater following the settlement by Azerbaijanis of three Armenian villages—Buzuluk, Erkech and Manashid. So people are in an extreme state of anxiety and, in addition—you know better than I, you do live in the Caucasus, what the domestic hearth means for the Caucasus. The inhabitants of these three villages have already been deprived of that. What can you say about this?

[Mutalibov] Yes, it is sad. Well, I should put it like this. When people talk to me about the deportation of Armenians from Azerbaijan—and people are saying a great deal about this at the moment—I, and any of the compatriots, straight away recall December 1988. At that time over literally three days more than 165,000 Azerbaijanis fled in panic amid, incidentally, complete silence from society. That was the second biggest mass deportation of Azerbaijanis in 70 years of Soviet power. The first—obviously many people will not know about it—was in 1949, when thousands of Azerbaijanis resettled from Armenia died on the hot steppes of Azerbaijan under completely alien conditions. To sum up, I will say that half a million Azerbaijanis left their native places which historically belong to territory now in Armenia. That is the bitter truth and, unfortunately, one which has not reached the ears of Soviet people.

Nonetheless, more than 200,000 Armenians live in Azerbaijan today. I don't want to draw any kind of parallel with history. We want them to live their lives and we guarantee their safety. However, that is our prerogative and not the prerogative of bands or formations and terrorists.

However, all kinds of terrorists entrenched in the areas where Armenian communities live are making them into unwitting hostages. You see, they force them, after they leave the villages themselves—it is quite natural that these people simply leave with them, in a panic. We are saying over and over again: This must not be. Leave everything for the consideration of the legitimate authorities of Azerbaijan. These are our citizens. In order to reassure people, let me say that we are not setting ourselves any kind of tasks at all relating to the deportation of Armenians. We have the oblast; incidentally, this work to normalize the situation will continue and also affects the villages in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. The conditions exist. The terror does not have to be. Terror and debate are incompatible, you understand, as I just said.

[Correspondent] So there has to be disarmament in these regions, there has to be. But those people who live there are sincerely convinced that the people in those villages carrying arms are their defenders, that their lives are under immediate, direct threat. It is highly unfortunate that there have also been in the history of Azerbaijan pages which are not a matter of pride for the republic. What has to be done for these people to have confidence, to be calm about their future? What is to be done?

[Mutalibov] First and foremost, we have to cleanse the territory of Azerbaijan of bands and formations currently called partisans. We are talking about a process of liberalization. This is our legimitate demand. You'll understand. Then people get on with their lives.

[Correspondent] But their safety will, of course, be guaranteed?

[Mutalibov] Of course it will be guaranteed, how not? Of course. Why play on this? Incidentally, the history, the sorry pages in the history of Azerbaijan we were talking about just now, this is not something without reason. For many decades now Armenians have been living in Azerbaijan and no one has ever pursued them, they have not lived badly, so what has suddenly happened? Let us look at the roots and analyze them.

[Correspondent] Yes, I'll go back to the old Leninist idea of "who benefits from this" and it really has to be recognized that four years ago two peoples lived alongside each other, but now after four years we are saying "who benefits from this" and it is very unfortunate that I cannot find an answer. We, all of us, have many questions but the hitches on the air which happened deprived us of the opportunity of making it calmer and broader.

NKAO Conference Views Participation in Election

LD1308084891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Summary] Stepanakert, 12 Aug (TASS)—It is possible that the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] population will take part in the elections of the president of the Republic of Azerbaijan on 8 September, think participants of a conference of the leadership of Stepanakert and NKAO rayons which has taken place here. It was noted at the conference that a meeting between NKAO representatives and Ayaz Mutalibov has not brought any fruit as yet. Participants of the conference said that their participation in the elections will depend on the settling of certain very important issues. They singled out the restoration of oblast and rayon soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees, whose activities have been suspended by the union and republican leadership, and the withdrawal of Azerbaijan's armed formations from an oblast airport. It was also noted that the absence of constitutional power in the autonomous oblast considerably complicates the preparations for and the holding of elections of Azerbaijan's president in accordance with the law.

Participants in the conference sent a letter addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, USSR president, and Ayaz Mutalibov, Azerbaijan's president, which says that the settling of these urgent problems before the elections of the republican president will allow the involvement of the majority of the oblast's population in the implementation of the policy of reconciliation and to create real ground for the holding of negotiations on the level of official bodies of power.

Journalist Dies of Wounds in Baku Hospital

OW1408151491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Azerbaijani press reports, that a correspondent for an independent youth paper MILOSTIVYE GOSUDARI from Perm Valeriy Dementyev died in an army hospital in Baku on Tuesday without regaining consciousness. He was wounded on July 31 when Armenian militants opened fire at a column of servicemen. Colonel Shakunov and Captain Korolyov were also wounded and three more servicemen shell-shocked.

Presidential Candidate Appears on Television

OW1408154291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Social-Democratic candidate to the post of Azerbaijani President Zardusht Alizade has appeared for the first time on local television in the framework of the election campaign. A total of 7 appearances is planned. In conditions of the state of emergency in Baku which has lasted for almost two years this is virtually the first possibility for the opposition to address the broad public.

The candidate spoke against Azerbaijani membership in the new Union. He felt that Azerbaijan will be able to solve the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh only if it becomes fully independent. He also criticised the formation of joint ventures, mentioning the latest project for extracting oil in the Caspian Sea. He said that such projects have the purpose of exhausting Azerbaijani natural resources. Besides, the meager foreign currency returns from them go to the Central Government.

Speaking for half an hour about the problems of the republic Alizade pointed out to the growing popularity of the Communist Party, accounting this to the fact that communists are gradually carrying out the key planks of the program of the Popular Front [PF]: the Azerbaijani state symbols that existed in 1918-1920 have been revived, a law on sovereignty has been passed and privatization has been named as a goal.

Alizade said in this context that he was one of the makers of the PF program, as he was a member of the PF board before 1990.

Train Carrying Petroleum Derails in Republic

NC1408114891 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0440 GMT 10 Aug 91

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Today's newspapers report that a train carrying crude petroleum from [name indistinct] to Mingecheur derailed at the Gadzhi Mamed railway station as a result of [words indistinct] at about 0130 on Thursday morning. Thirty-nine of the 45 railway cars loaded with the crude derailed and more than 1,000 tons of petroleum spilled.

Said Rustamov, first deputy chief of the Azerbaijan Railways Administration, said he believes damaged tracks caused the accident. More information will be disclosed later.

Republic's Sheki Rayon Soviet Elects Leaders

NC1408114991 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] The Sheki Rayon People's Deputies Soviet has met to examine its organization. Akhmed Akhmed-zade, first secretary of the Sheki City Party Committee, was elected by secret ballot as chairman of the soviet. Deputy Vesayi Pashayev was elected by secret ballot as chairman of the soviet's Executive Committee. The permanent committees were established and approved during the meeting. The deputies also examined matters concerning the 1991 development plan and budget.

The deputies voted to merge the Sheki Rayon and City Soviets. They adopted a decision on this and submitted it to the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium for approval.

Kazakhstan

Law on Press Published in Republic Newspapers

LD1308164191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1300 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Text] The law of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic on the press and other mass media is published in republican newspapers today. The document describes clearly the procedure for changing accreditation, and legal clauses on the professional activities of representatives of the press of other republics, and of central and foreign publications.

That information was distributed by the AZIYA-PRESS agency.

Geologists Discover Oil Field in Republic

LD1408115191 Moscow TASS in English 0949 GMT 14 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Ganzha]

[Text] Alma-Ata August 14 TASS—Kazakh geologists have discovered an oil field near Baykonur, the Soviet space centre in Kazakhstan.

This semidesert land with no rivers and lakes has turned to be rich in gas and oil. Geologists prospected three oil fields in this region and mapped five oil structures.

The oil contains little hazardous admixtures and can be used to produce automobile and aircraft fuel. It occurs at a depth of 2,000 meters. Eduard Aznabayev, leading researcher of the Alma-Ata Geological Institute, said new oil fields are of the same age as those in the Caspian Valley. The age is important for estimating the oil storage of new deposits.

Kazakhstan is the second largest oil producer in the Soviet Union after the Russian Federation. The new oil field, named South Turgai, will considerably increase the amount of oil produced in the republic.

Kyrgyzstan

MVD Conference Adopts Departyization Decision

LD1408150891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0348 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Report by Bishkek correspondent (Aleksandr Myrtov) on a Kyrgyz CP conference on "departyization of the internal affairs bodies" in Bishkek; date not given]

[Excerpts] Virtually all the speakers, representatives of primary party organizations of various structural subdivisions of the republican internal affairs ministry [MVD], expressed the unambiguous opinion that there should be no political parties and movements in the internal affairs bodies. Of course, in this case, we must discuss the competence of such a conference, of the legality of its decisions from the point of the CPSU rules, and this idea was, in fact, voiced in the address by Artemov, Kyrgyzstan CP Central Committee secretary. But, one cannot but acknowledge, too, the fact that the need to make final decisions is long overdue. Staff have been talking about departyization for some time. Meetings have been held everywhere in primary organizations on just this topic and on cases of individual militia staff, including leaders, leaving the CPSU ranks. In such a situation, it was undoubtedly necessary to decide, to make a final choice. It is very important that there was not even a hint in any of the speeches of any sort of attack against the CPSU. On the contrary, many of those sitting in the hall who gave 15, 20, or more years of service to the Party spoke very warmly about the years when they had conducted active propaganda work at the grass roots party levels.

The resolution on internal affairs ministry departyization adopted at the conference is not an insult to the Party nor an expression of any lack of trust in it; it is a real fact of today's political situation, when the multiparty structure is a reality of our political public life. [passage omitted]

Last year's tragic events in Osh Oblast were a graphic demonstration of the zealousness with which various political forces strive to use the internal affairs bodies for their own sometimes mercenary and ambitious aims. [passage omitted]

[Begin Feliks Sharshenbayevich Kulov, Kyrgyz internal affairs minister, recording] [Passage omitted on Kulov's support for the departyization decision and call for suspension of Party membership in the case of officials holding public posts] In this case, given that there is nothing in the Party rules about suspending Party membership, I am forced to leave the Party; and not only forced, I bow to the decision of the majority of Communists, and that is indeed my conviction. [end recording]

Leaders To Meet Ukraine's Fokin on Cooperation

LD1408125291 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0000 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Today—13 August—the prime minister of Ukraine, Vitold Fokin, arrived in Kyrgyzstan, one of the Union republics of Central Asia. He will hold talks with the leaders of that republic on the signing of an agreement on cooperation between Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan.

Republic Radio, Television Transmission Times Cut

LD1408162191 Bishkek SLOVO KYRGYZSTANA in Russian 1 Aug 91 p3

[Summary] Since July, local television and radio transmissions suddenly began ending two hours earlier, at 2200. Anyone with a three-channel radio set who tried to get Mayak and the other all-union programs after that time was also unlucky. The reason for the early close is that the State TV and Radio Company's budget has been reduced by 800,000 rubles [R], including by R350,000 for radio. So: less cash, less broadcasting. All the managers interviewed at the Communications Ministry expressed regret at the cut in broadcasting, but could do nothing about it. Meanwhile, the monthly rental for radio signals is not being reduced, but will be increased. Last but not least, there does not seem to have been the slightest hint of a warning of the cuts, let alone an apology.

Tajikistan

Makhkamov, Niyazov Against Alma-Ata Meeting

PM1508104791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Aug 91 p 1

[U. Babakhanov report: "Treaty Signed"]

[Text] Dushanbe—A visit to Tajikistan by Turkmen President S. Niyazov resulted in the signing of two documents in Dushanbe yesterday: a Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation and an economic agreement for 1992-1995. At a press conference dedicated to this event, both sides stressed the importance of establishing export links between sovereign republics.

Tajik President K. Makhkamov and his Turkmen counterpart spoke negatively of the idea for a meeting in Alma-Ata between the 15 republic heads without participation by the center. S. Niyazov said: "If indeed we sign the Union treaty and recognize the federal structure of our state, it would not really be honest to play hide-and-seek with the center."

Nevertheless, in the next few days both presidents will attend a meeting between leaders of the Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan in Tashkent. Incidentally, it too will be held without the center's participation....

Measures To Protect Leaseholders Introduced

LD1408103491 Moscow TASS in English 0926 GMT 14 Aug 91

[By TAJIKTA-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe August 14 TASS—The Tajik Cabinet of Ministers took a number of radical measures for economic and social protection of leaseholders in this Soviet Central Asian republic.

Noting the extreme importance of the law on the lease adopted by the Tajik Parliament last December, the republic's government notes with concern that the transfer of land to peasants is delayed by local authorities, particularly by chiefs of collective and state farms.

Prime Minister Izatullo Khayeyev noted numerous facts of opposition to the introduction of leaseholding, of gross violations of the law on the lease.

Heads of economies using monopoly ownership of land, quite often annul agreements with peasants or unilaterally make unwarranted changes in such agreements.

Pressure is also brought on leaseholders by delay in their supply with farming equipment, mineral fertilizer, seeds.

In this connection the Cabinet of Ministers decreed that heads of rural councils and units of the republican Ministry of Agriculture are held responsible for the implementation of the law on the lease. Those guilty of putting obstacles to the development of leaseholding and of other violations of laws will be stripped of their posts.

Local authorities are instructed to complete within two months the drafting of a programme on the lease on land in every economy.

Rural councils are instructed to supervise the observance of laws guaranteeing the right of leaseholders to dispose as they see fit of the products that remain after they have fulfilled their contractual obligations.

The Cabinet of Minister suggested to the republic's Union of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurs and to the National Agroindustrial Bank to set up a fund for financial support for young leaseholders.

Turkmenistan

Republic Delegation Ends Visit to Dushanbe

LD1408225791 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0005 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] A Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] delegation headed by Niyazov left Dushanbe on 13 August after holding talks, signing a treaty on principles of state relations between the Tajik SSR and the Turkmen SSR, and signing an agreement on economic and cultural cooperation between the two republics for 1992 to 1995.

The esteemed guests were seen off at the capital's airport by President of Tajikistan Makhkamov and other officials. Before their return, the Turkmen guests visited the historic and cultural city of Gissar.

Niyazov Seeks To Boost Energy Output, Earnings

PM1408100591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Vladimir Kuleshov: "If You Work Well You Earn Well"]

[Text] Ashkhabad—President of Turkmenistan S. Niyazov has signed a resolution that envisages a complex of measures to increase oil, gas, and gas condensate extraction and the manufacture of output in the chemical, oil-refining, and machine-building industries.

The aim of the document is to stabilize oil and gas extraction at the republic's oil and gas fields, having linked the manufacture of output in the fuel and energy complex—which gives Turkmenistan almost 40 percent of its entire production volume—with workers' earnings, that is, to take another concrete step toward the market.

The base pay of oil and gas workers has today increased by between 40 and 75 percent, and in certain specializations its level has doubled or tripled in the republic. For instance, the earnings of a drilling technician at the "Turkmengazprom" Association has risen on average to 770 rubles. And these measures are already bearing fruit. The association exceeded plans for gas and condensate extraction, drilling, and the production of consumer goods in the first half of this year. The wages fund for workers in the republic's oil and gas sectors will rise by 75 percent by the end of the year and in addition, the resolution stresses, enterprises in the base sectors are now obtaining the right to independently sell up to 10 percent of their output on the internal market and abroad.

Uzbekistan

Central Asian Leaders View Meeting in Tashkent

LD1408183791 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Network in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As I have already said, a meeting between the leaders of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, which is the logical continuation of the Alma-Ata meeting, is being held in Uzbekistan. A report from our correspondent from Tashkent:

[Begin recording] [correspondent Sh. Ganiyeva] Today's meeting in Tashkent, which is taking place at a difficult turning point for the country, was attended by Presidents Nazarbayev of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], Akayev of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, Makhkamov of the Tajik SSR, Niyazov of Turkmenistan, Karimov of the Uzbek SSR, and members of the official delegations. Gasanov, prime minister of the Azerbaijani republic, was also invited to the conference of the leaders of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan.

Questions of the fulfillment of last year's Alma-Ata agreements on economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation between the republics, questions of the stabilization of the socio-political situation in the region, and problems of the organization of an inter-republican consultative council to coordinate socio-economic development were discussed here in a thorough way. One of the main questions at this meeting of the presidents was that of concluding a treaty on a union of sovereign states. A communique was adopted on the results of the conference, and an agreement promoting a specific solution to topical problems of the present day and the development of the potential of the republics for the future was signed.

What fundamentally new will today's conference and the signing of the final documents which were adopted here bring to the life of our region and the life of the country as a whole?

[N. Nazarbayev] We are pursuing a number of pragmatic objectives which affect stability, first and foremost, and, second, economic potential and a reduction in crisis situations, and in connection with the fact that we are an integrated region and have found ourselves in a serious financial situation. I think that in the future our agreement will promote integration with all the republics who will sign the Union treaty so that this will be a unified economic space, and I am convinced that without this it will be difficult for us to build a market economy and extricate ourselves from this deep crisis.

Our meeting today in no way runs counter to the draft Union treaty, which was agreed and initialed by all the republics, and which we intend to sign, and we are all adherent to the Union treaty, and we shall accomplish this historic deed together and support it.

[I. Karimov] Our meeting was first and foremost an attempt, or let's say a desire on the part of the leaders of Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics, to find these constructive ways to get out of the situation and to speak as little as possible about a crash, about an approaching famine, and so on, but to find constructive ways. And it is in the light of this that one must understand our meeting and those documents which we shall be adopting. [video shows meeting in progress and interviews with leaders] [end recording]

Further on Leaders' Meeting

OW1408231491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A conference of the presidents of Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan opened in Tashkent on Wednesday.

Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov emphasized that the conference is necessary because of grave socioeconomic problems in the region. According to him, the transition to market relations in the region is attended with great difficulties, including growing prices, shortages of food and many essentials and inflation.

Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev expressed hope that the conference would improve ethnic regionals [as received] in the region and help stabilize the situation. Nazarbayev reiterated Kazakhstan's readiness to sign the Union treaty.

Kyrgyzstan's President Askar Akayev pointed to the big contribution the leaders gathering in Tashkent have been making to the development of the Union treaty and argued that the results of the summit may turn the republics around that have not yet decided to join the new Union.

Addressing the issue of a common market, Kyrgyzstan's president emphasized that it cannot take shape overnight on a vast territory and that isolated market pockets would emerge first. At the next stage Central Asia's regional market must be integrated into the Union and then into the world markets.

Following these brief statements, the presidents of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan began a closed round of talks.

Cooperation Pact Signed With Azerbaijan

LD1408173491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Excerpt] At the end of their meeting in Tashkent, presidents of Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan have signed an agreement to set up an interrepublican Consultative Council of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia and Kazakhstan. The agreement has been joined by Azerbaijan wishing to be integrated in the Central Asian economy.

The Council is to check compliance with accords on resolving social and economic problems in the region. [passage omitted]

Republics' Joint Meeting Concludes

OW1408224391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A conference of the presidents of Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan came to a close on Wednesday afternoon in Tashkent. A communique summarizing its results and signed by the presidents of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenia says that the Union treaty accommodates the interests of all the prospective signatories, but its signing will become only the first step, says the document, which does not resolve the entire backlog of outstanding problems.

The presidents of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan determined at the conference the strategy of joint work during the transition to the market that is aimed at preventing the living standards of the region's population from plummeting and at easing social tension.

An agreement was signed on the establishment of an interrepublican Consultative Council of Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan. It is planned to make the council a standing economic body with a headquarters in Ashkhabad.

Azerbaijan plans to achieve integration with the economy of the region too. Its representatives participated in the forum as observers.

Democrats Urge Presidents To Guard Human Rights

OW1508035691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Uzbek democratic organisations called on the presidents of the sovereign republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan to anchor commitment to democratic freedoms and human rights in the Union treaty and in interrepublican agreements they plan to sign with Uzbekistan. They sent the appeal to the second conference of the leaders of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan that closed in Tashkent on Wednesday.

The document expresses concern over Uzbekistan's human-rights record. It says that the republican authorities have taken the line on "the preservation and strengthening of the totalitarian regime" instead of democratising social life.

According to the authors, democratic organisations are subjected to harassment and persecution, even the slightest of hints at dissent in the press is suppressed, and independent press is persecuted. "Unlawful arrests and detentions, fines, deportation, dismissal of democratic activists from work has become a very common reality," emphasizes the appeal.

The opposition organisations turned to the members of the conference and asked to direct to the Uzbek authorities an appeal to put an end to the persecution of the democratic forces and to human rights abuse.

The appeal was signed by the popular movement Birlik, the International Alliance of Uzbekistan, the Tashkent chapter of the Liberal-Democratic Party, and the Democratic Movement of Uzbekistan.

Japan's NEC To Install Satellite Communications

LD1508045391 Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 2 Aug 91 p 2

[Summary] On the orders of the Ministry of Communications of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], the Japanese firm NEC has started preparing the equipment for international satellite communications for the Uzbek SSR. The first batch of the equipment will be coming to Uzbekistan in February of next year, when the installation work will start on the equipment, which will allow all forms of communication along direct channels with practically any country in the world. The Foreign Economic Bank of Uzbekistan transferred the money for the whole package to the Bank of Tokyo within two days of concluding the agreement.